Christ's college magazine
Christ's college magazine...
Milton tercentenary number.

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Vol. XXIII. No. 68.

Christ's College Magazine,

MICHAELMAS TERM, 1908.

MILTON TERCENTENARY NUMBER

CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED FOR THE EDITORS AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE.

c 1908 c

Copies may be obtained from the Butler, Christ's College, Cambridge, on receipt of Postal Order for *2s. 8d.*

Geo. Hunter Robinson
119 Collier St.
Toronto
(1909)

Charles W. Dunn

John Milton

CHRIST'S COLLEGE MAGAZINE.

VOL. XXIII.

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Cambridge:
MICHAELMAS TERM, 1908
and
LENT AND EASTER TERMS, 1909.

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The miniature of Milton which is photographed as our frontispiece belongs to Mr A. E. Shipley, and is No. 16 *in the catalogue of the Milton exhibition, from which we take the following particulars: "The miniature almost exactly resembles the* Houbraken *engraving dated* 1741, *and it has been suggested, with some degree of probability, that it was prepared in order to send to Houbraken in Amsterdam, that from it he might engrave his plate. Such a course was often pursued with regard to original works. It was very possibly painted by* Bernard Lens the younger. *It is not an exact copy of the Nuneham portrait, which purports to be an absolute copy of the lost Onslow portrait. In costume the two are identical, but in expression of countenance they are not, although the miniature is identical with the engraving. It came from the collection of Mr W. S. Green, of Exeter Mansions, Shaftesbury Avenue, and was purchased by its present owner in* 1903. *It may of course be a copy, by a miniature painter, from the Houbraken engraving: especially as the colour of the costume differs from that of the Nuneham portrait, where the coat is black while in the miniature it is blue; but it is suggested that the first suggestion is more likely to be the correct one."*

Christ's College Magazine.

MICHAELMAS TERM, 1908.

IN CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN MEMORIAM J. M.

MANY a year has died since here you trod
In youth these tranquil courts that close befriend
High dreams and sweet imaginings that lend
Clear dews of bright remembrance to this sod.
The years are dead, but you, like Hermes shod,
Still pace these gardens where yet fruitful bend
The branches of yon tree the gardeners tend
With careful hand and many a propping rod.

And we, who now inhabit these dim years
Your soul prophetic looked upon, turn back
To walk the calm quadrangle by your side.
Teach us, fair boy, to fill our modern lack
With such devotion as shall hide our fears
And send us on our journey fortified.

GEORGE NORTON NORTHROP.

MILTON AND HIS COLLEGE.

I.

IT is a fact of some interest to those who would fain believe, as there is ample justification for believing, that the relations between Milton and his College were satisfactory and cordial, that when he married for the third time the ceremony was performed in a church of which an ex-Fellow of Christ's was the Rector and presumably by the ex-Fellow himself. The church was St Mary Aldermary, London; and the Rector was Robert Gell.

Several of the poet's biographers, notoriously Dr Johnson who, though one of the warmest-hearted of men, was the prey of violent prejudices and could never forgive Milton for his Republicanism any more than he could truly appreciate his poetry, have themselves entertained or certainly have left on their readers the impression that the years of Milton's residence at Christ's were by no means peaceful and happy—that he was unruly and recalcitrant and 'the Dons' of his day had a bad time of it with him and he with them. Now for such an impression there is very slight justification; and it may well be dismissed from the minds of all who care only for the truth, enslaved by no political bias. Some slight justification is to be found for it, *e.g.* in certain well-known Latin lines in which Milton complains of the hard Master's threats and of other things his 'ingenium,' whatever exactly this word means in this instance, would not endure. This passage proves undoubtedly there was some friction between him and Dr Bainbrigge, who seems to have been something of a martinet. This friction was probably due to some disagreement between Milton and his Tutor, Mr Chappell; and from some things told of

Mr Chappell we cannot be so very much surprised if, however successful a 'pupillist' in other cases, he irritated his young charge, and his young charge irritated him. At all events after Milton's transference to another and more congenial or considerate Tutor there is no trace that his undergraduate career was in any way ruffled. The story which Dr Johnson is 'ashamed to relate' but 'fears is true,' viz. 'that Milton was one of the last students in either University that suffered the public indignity of corporal correction' is a mere partisan legend that for several reasons which cannot now be discussed may safely be rejected.

But no doubt Milton might at first excite some misgivings not only in the bosom of Mr Chappell but in the most liberal and sympathetic natures with which he was brought into contact; for from his earliest years he was conscious of his magnificent endowments, and not less so were those who knew him intimately. From his boyhood he felt in himself a sense of power—a capability of splendid service—a confidence that he was born great and to be great; and he was not deceived. Such self-consciousness, a very different thing from what we call conceit, has possessed all supreme geniuses. Unless we bear this fact in mind, we may well be startled and shocked, when Dante calmly ranges himself as the sixth of the great poets of the world. He has before him Homer, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Virgil:

> 'So I beheld united the bright school
> Of him the monarch of sublimest song,
> That o'er the others like an eagle soars.
> When they together short discourse had held,
> They turn'd to me, with salutation kind,
> Beckoning me; at the which my master smiled;
> Nor was this all; but greater honour still
> They gave me, for they made me of their tribe;
> And I was sixth amid so learn'd a band.'

But, surprising and audacious as such an estimate of himself might have seemed to Dante's contemporaries, posterity thinks it vastly below his proper place. Who nowadays will place Ovid and Lucan and Horace, whatever their excellences, in the same Division or even in the same Class, to speak Academically, with the mighty Florentine? It would be easy to illustrate a like self-consciousness in Shakespeare (see his Sonnets), in Wordsworth, in Goethe. The great kings of literature have inevitably been sensible of their native royalty. Their heads have been crowned and their hands sceptred from their earliest intelligence—from their earliest knowledge of themselves and of others compared with themselves. And probably enough this instinct of monarchy has often looked like arrogance to those around them, till its full and glorious expression has overpowered all doubts and obtained ungrudging admiration and homage.

Assuredly it was not long before the then Fellows of Christ's recognized that a genius had rooms in the First Court. One declines to imagine as common such a contradiction in terms—such a hideous oxymoron—as *a dull Fellow*, though haply such dismal phenomena have appeared both at Oxford and Cambridge. On the whole, we may confidently believe the Fellows of Milton's time to have been able and cultivated men; and they must have known that a certain undergraduate's Latin compositions were poems of real beauty as well as masterpieces of scholarship, such as not one of them at his best could equal. And as to his English verses, lived there a Don with soul so dead as not to feel that he was listening to a voice divine when he heard, for instance, the lines entitled 'At a Solemn Music' and such words as

'Where the bright Seraphim in burning row
Their loud uplifted angel-trumpets blow,
And the Cherubic host in thousand quires
Touch their immortal harps of golden wires,
With those just Spirits that wear victorious palms,
Hymns devout and holy psalms
Singing everlastingly';

or when he saw before him a copy of the Hymn 'On the Morning of Christ's Nativity,' a poem not without obvious faults but yet in its noblest stanzas preluding those resonant harmonies that in *Paradise Lost* were to win for its author the unique title of 'God-gifted Organ-voice of England'?

But it is not necessary to argue from general considerations that the Fellows of his time had a high appreciation of Milton's exceptional gifts. We have direct evidence to this effect. It has often been quoted; but it cannot be quoted too often, and it must needs be given here. In 'An apology for Smectymnuus' he has occasion to refer to an infamous falsehood about himself vented by the author of 'A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus'—a work written and alas! answered in a most virulent spirit; but it is not with the fierce and lamentable invective of the answer we are now concerned, but with its autobiographical interest.

'I must be thought,' writes Milton, 'if this libeller (for now he shows himself to be so) can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth spent at the University, to have been at length "vomited out thence." For which commodious lie, that he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publicly with all grateful mind that more than ordinary favour and respect, which I found above any of my equals at the hands

of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of that college wherein I spent some years: who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me. Which being likewise propense to all such as were for their studious and civil life worthy of esteem, I could not wrong their judgments and upright intentions, so much as to think I had that regard from them for other cause, than that I might be still encouraged to proceed in the honest and laudable courses, of which they apprehended I had given good proof. And to those ingenuous and friendly men who were ever the countenancers of virtuous and hopeful wits, I wish the best and happiest things, that friends in absence wish one to another.'

It is true that Milton was at that time far from satisfied with Cambridge and its studies and tendencies and who can say that his dissatisfaction was not justified by facts? But we must carefully distinguish between his feeling towards the University and his feeling towards his College. One may disapprove of a system, but yet have a sincere attachment to persons who have been trained up in connection with it and are associated with its maintenance. Possibly enough some of the Fellows of Christ's were as keenly sensible of the need of some thorough reforms in the University as Milton himself. At all events it is certain that the Fellows of his day were no swine before whom a pearl was cast, and cast in vain. They fully discerned and fully valued the rare quality of the genius who was to bring to the College its most brilliant distinction. Christ's has a splendid roll of worthies; but at the head of it and with no second or third stands the name of Milton. Of all the English poets who were University men he is far and away the chief; and his College in

having numbered him amongst its students is famous above all other Colleges.

Presumably, he might have himself become a Fellow, had he cared to take Holy Orders. But certainly, shortly after and probably before he 'went down,' he was out of sympathy with the Church of England and its government and its ritual. Far other than the life of a College lecturer with the prospect of a College Living was his career to be, and to very different duties was he called. England had need of him.

> 'At last he rose, and twitched his mantle blue:
> To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new,'

—'fresh woods and pastures new' such as he little dreamed of—woods that were to be scenes of devastation and pastures that were to be dyed with blood, but beyond them 'a still time when there' was 'no chiding,' 'not in these noises,' when at last he could pour out his whole heart in full-toned melodies to which the world, or the best part of it, will listen attent and delighted so long as it has ears to hear.

There is nowhere in literature a more charming picture of College life, portrayed in pastoral language, than in *Lycidas*, one of the most exquisite poems ever written. He cannot let his old College friend die 'ere his prime' 'without the meed of some melodious tear':

> 'For we were nursed upon the self-same hill
> Fed the same flock by fountain, shade, and rill;
> Together both, ere the high lawns appeared
> Under the opening eyelids of the morn,
> We drove a-field, and both together heard
> What time the grey-fly winds her sultry horn,

Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night,
Oft till the star that rose at evening bright
Toward heaven's descent had sloped his westering wheel.
Meanwhile the rural ditties were not mute;
Tempered to the oaten flute.
Rough Satyrs danced, and Fauns with cloven heel
From the glad sound would not be absent long,
And old Damœtas loved to hear our song.'

i.e. even the Undergraduates—'rough Satyrs' and 'Fauns with cloven heel'—danced to 'the oaten flute' as played by King and Milton; and 'old Damœtas,' *i.e.* some Senior Fellow or Prælector (possibly Mead is specially meant), looked on with kindly eyes, proud of pupils of such proficiency and promise.

To return to the opening sentence of this paper, it seems highly probable that in the fact that Milton's third marriage ceremony was performed by one who was a Fellow of Christ's in Milton's undergraduate days we have a further illustration of the good feeling that existed between Milton and the Fellows. At all events, some 30 years after he completed his University course, it was to an ex-Fellow he applied to do him a service such as men generally ask of those they revere and love.

Robert Gell was about 13 years older than Milton. He was well-born, belonging to the distinguished family of the Gells of Hopton, Derbyshire, though the place of his birth was Frindsbury in Kent, where his father was Rector. He was, it would seem, a Churchman of eminence, as he was selected to preach before the University, before Charles I, and later on before the Lord Mayor of London. Also, he was a man of great and various learning, as is shown by his works, especially by 'An Essay towards the

amendment of the last English translation of the Bible,' of which only the First Part—on the Pentateuch—was ever published, or probably written. Several of his Sermons are extant, *e.g.* ''Αγγελοκρατία Θεοῦ,' 'Noah's Flood Retiring,' 'Stella Nova.' He was evidently one endowed with great activity of mind, and of multifarious interests. And, though he probably owed his appointment to St Mary Aldermary to Archbishop Laud, he was certainly no extremist, for he held that living from 1641 to the time of his death in 1665. He was 'articled against' in 1646, but the judgment of the Committee for Plundered Ministers was in his favour, as may be seen in one of the *Lansdowne MSS.*, for referring me to which I have to thank, and do sincerely thank, the Rev. G. L. Hennessey. I dare say a minute research amongst the Brit. Mus. MSS.—both the *Additional* and the *Lansdowne*—might discover what 'the articles' were; but, though I obtained some information about Gell from those invaluable records, I did not light on any note of what was objected against him; and the judgment referred to above does not recite the objection or objections. Probably he was too broad-minded a man to attach much importance to many of the matters over which the Episcopalians and Presbyterians quarrelled so furiously. Possibly he was so far advanced as to entertain the policy of toleration which the Independents advocated and in which Milton was such an ardent believer. We may be quite sure from his friendship with Milton that he was not one of 'the Vicar of Bray' type. It is inconceivable that he was a mere time-server, for there was nothing Milton hated better, and he was as good a hater as even Dr Johnson could have wished for. Probably Milton and he had met from time to time ever since he became a London Rector and Milton settled in

Aldersgate Street, and with many of Milton's writings he may have had considerable sympathy, however deeply he regretted their occasional violence of language.

But these possibilities and probabilities are at present mere matters of conjecture. Our one certain fact is that Milton, now blind and 'fallen on evil days,' was in the year 1663 married in the Church of one who was a Fellow of Christ's when Milton matriculated and during all the time of Milton's residence in the College. So Gell and he had many common memories, which must have recurred to them both that day Mistress Elizabeth Minshull gave her promise to love and cherish one who, sadly changed physically from him the Rector could recall in all the glory of his youth, so sorely needed her tenderest care—a promise that 'Betty,' as her husband fondly called her, performed with the most faithful affection.

JOHN W. HALES.

II.

NO one who saw the wonderful collection of Milton-portraits which Dr G. C. Williamson and Mr Shipley brought together last June to our great profit, need have any difficulty in picturing to himself how John Milton looked as he first paced the one court of our College which existed three hundred years ago. The portrait nearest in date is the Onslow portrait from Nuneham, taken when he was twenty-one, about five years older. As we look at the clear-cut face, rather young even for one just come of age,

we feel that it probably differed but little from that of the Freshman of 1608. He who would know the inner as well as the outer man, at this and at every period of a full life, must turn to Masson. Masson was an indefatigable biographer, and his work will hardly be superseded. He rightly judged that Milton cannot be understood without detailed knowledge of his times: and his life of Milton is a small history of the England of Milton's days. It is very long; but if any Englishman could deserve a biography in seven large volumes it was Milton. It is complete, and (I believe) correct: perhaps in reading the part relating to Cambridge we are conscious that the writer is dealing with a University of a different type from his own, and sometimes but rarely fails to understand the peculiarities of Cambridge and Oxford, and so makes occasional slips. This is a small matter, and everyone interested in Milton owes Masson a great debt. He has shown us the son of the well-to-do scrivener of London, marked out when a mere boy by an unmistakable bent toward letters—a bent wisely fostered by his father, who not only had a portrait made of the child of ten (which even a foolish father might do) but carefully provided him the best teachers. The influence upon the boy of Young his first tutor is proved by his voluntary renewal from Cambridge of their old intercourse. At St Paul's he was certainly stimulated as well as instructed by the Gills. He learnt there thoroughly Greek and Latin, as well as the Hebrew which (in varying amounts) was part of the pabulum supplied by most English schools. His acquisition of French and some Italian was (he tells us) due to his father: and may have been helped by his school-boy friendship with young Diodati, the grandson of a Protestant refugee. As a boy he would prolong his work till midnight. As a boy he wrote original poems, more

often paraphrases, which, though in some ways borrowed, are marked by clearness and by fancy enough for a true poet, if a young one. Three years ago we commemorated not only the four-hundredth year of the existence of our College but also its foremost man, when the long procession of Christ's men moved to the Chapel through the second and first Courts while the Choir at their head chanted Milton's schoolboy version of Psalm cxxxvi.: "Let us with a gladsome mind | praise the Lord for he is kind."

It was no ordinary boy who entered Christ's on 12 February 162$\frac{4}{5}$, matriculated on the following April 9, and resided without any break (save the shorter vacations—the Long Vacation was a time for college work as much as was term time, though not for University exercises) till June, 1632, when he left as a Master of Arts.

The record of his life at Cambridge is short; it is also "known to every schoolboy." I may quote what I have elsewhere written. "It is likely that he was not loved by his equals in age, for he was 'not ignorant of his own parts'; and it is quite conceivable that he gave a grudging obedience to those who were placed over him, the Master, the Dean, and the Head Lecturer: certainly he was on bad terms with his first tutor, William Chappell, by whom he was transferred to Nathaniel Tovey; but the story of his flogging by Chappell rests (as I have pointed out in my *History of Christ's College*, p. 146) on untrustworthy evidence. Beyond a doubt he was appreciated as he deserved by the Master and Fellows before he left Cambridge, and might well have been elected to a Fellowship had he been prepared to take Holy Orders[1]." He may have written much poetry here:

[1] It may be noted that it was Christopher Milton, Romanist brother of John, who started the story of the flogging with the innocent statement that "Chappell treated him with some unkindness," afterwards

if so, his judgment suffered but little to survive: and what survives is exquisite. We may feel some surprise that he did, at the end of his life, decide to publish his College and University exercises. These are printed, with some abbreviation, in an English translation, by Masson in his first volume: and they should be read by serious students of Milton: but there are few now who will not find them dull. Did the auditors of that day in the College Hall not yawn over the enquiry "Utrum dies an nox praestantior sit?"? and did they follow intelligently the thesis "in rei cuiuslibet interitu non datur resolutio in corpora prima"? Undoubtedly the most readable is the speech delivered in our Hall, but to men of other Colleges as well, in the Long Vacation —or *possibly* at the Christmas Saturnalia—of 1628, wherein Milton laments that he is called away from serious work to play the part of dictator in a commonwealth of fools; to produce learned reasons for the value of occasional folly; and to extract amusement even out of Ens and the predicaments. Very much is dull: a good deal is really nasty—but that was tolerated on a licensed fooling-day. But amid all this we come with surprise on the glorious apostrophe (in English) to his "Native Language," and to the music of the lines

> Where the deep-transported mind may soar
> Above the wheeling poles and at Heaven's door
> Look in, and see each blissful deity
> How he before the thunderous throne doth lie...

given with a *varia lectio* "whipt him" by Aubrey, and finally expanded without any ascertainable authority by Samuel Johnson into the well-known words 'I am ashamed to relate, what I fear is true, that Milton was one of the last students in either University that suffered the public indignity of corporal correction.' The same Christopher has lately been adduced as the chief authority for the opinion that John died a Roman Catholic.

It was worth while to go through a good deal to get that. And we may be thankful to Milton for preserving his youthful exercises, if only to prove to us that the system of his day could produce thoroughly good scholars who thought and wrote easily in Latin; who read in order to remember and to reproduce in fluent speech what they read; to prove that Milton himself, while he loved Plato, did not depreciate Aristotle; that while natural philosophy, as well as history and poetry, had his heart, yet he did not then deem study of the scholastic type a mere waste of time. What he said on the demerits of the system in later days is well known: it is curiously like the arguments of certain pandits of our own time. Was he quite of the same mind when he published these exercises? We may willingly admit that, if educational theory had been quite other than it was, Milton might have been better educated. As it was, it does not appear how he could have spent his time much better[1].

Let us picture to ourselves the College in which Milton found himself.

It consisted of the First Court, as it may be seen in Loggan's view—more picturesque than now; with its light

[1] It would be interesting to know all the books Milton read during his undergraduate days. Was he put through the ordinary text-books on logic (first years), followed by others on physics, ethics, and (commonly in the third year) theology? I could have done something to answer the question if he had been a pupil of Joseph Mead, a better man than either Chappell or Tovey: for I have fortunately laid hands on some of his old account books (dating from 1614 to 1636, but scanty in the last years) in which appear the various books which he had provided for each of his pupils. I hope before long to publish what can be gleaned from this source—so far as I know, unique. Few men have left us a clear record of their studies. Simonds d'Ewes (six or seven years before) put down all that he read in two years at St John's (see Masson, 1. 262): it is a curious list.

battlements instead of the solid parapet of James Essex; with the old windows, to be displaced more than a hundred years later by the present rather dull sash-windows; and with light and graceful chimney-stacks. Besides this there was the little wooden building which stood from 1613 to 1731 in the present Second Court, with its south end abutting on the corner of Christ's Piece, and stretching parallel to the Kitchen and the Butteries, and to the (later) Fellows' Building, nearly as far as the Master's Garden: it contained apparently twelve chambers, including attics. Lastly there was the old inn called the Brazen George, at the south-east of Great St Andrew's churchyard: the modern Alexandra Street doubtless represents the passage which led through the inn from its front in St Andrew's Street and by the stableyard to the exit into Petty Cury: this was under the charge of Troilus Atkinson, the College *factotum*, and used (with slight regard to the Statutes) to hold students who could not be packed into the lawful buildings. For they must have been packed. The College was third in the University, with more occupants than it ever had till very recent times. The Fellows occupied all the 1st floor rooms, which they shared sometimes with their respective sizars; the ground floor rooms and the attics held each three or four men, one being generally a B.A.: all slept in the sitting-room; the juniors worked in the "studies" attached to the "chamber," which became afterwards the bedroom and the gyproom. Toward the end of his time Milton *may have been* the senior occupant of the chamber assigned him by tradition—the 1st floor set, on the right hand of staircase N—*if* it chanced not to be needed by any Fellow. It is certain that he could never have been a sole occupant anywhere.

What was the prevailing tone of the Governing Body of the College in Milton's time? Who were the fellow students most likely to attract him? Masson seems to have felt that the latter question called for some answer, for he obtained a list of the men of Milton's year, but he made no effort to find out what manner of men they were—a rather strange omission for one so indefatigable. The first question he answered to some extent: he gives a list of the Master and Fellows, and some account of the most noteworthy, especially of Joseph Mead and Chappell. The Master, Thomas Bainbrigge, was a good disciplinarian; otherwise a "neutral," and quite undistinguished: he cannot have attracted Milton's admiration: but we need not suppose that he is specially meant by the "durus magister" of the well-known elegy. William Power, Bainbrigge's contemporary, the Senior Fellow, was Lady Margaret Preacher for more than 30 years: he was Anglican and suspected of papistic leanings. That Milton should have been so much at variance with Chappell as to have left him for another tutor, is not what might have been expected: for Chappell was an amiable man, though "precise" (in the phrase of the day): he was not Calvinistic: he was even accused of "arminianising" his pupils: and he satisfied Laud, through whom he went to Ireland to be Dean of Cashel in 1633, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1634, where he packed the Seniority with quite undistinguished Christ's men, and later Bishop of Cork, where he affected "ceremony" enough to be deemed a papist, till he returned in 1641, a disappointed man, to die in obscurity. Milton could not have helped loving Mead—if he was ever in contact with him: the evidence is negative; the weekly letters of Mead from 1621 to 1631 (Harl. MSS. 389 and

390, at the British Museum) cover all Milton's time, yet he is never mentioned in them: so far as I have seen, Mead, though he writes of most things divine and human, never mentions any student of the College who was not his own pupil. Mead was far before his age in tolerance both of opinion and of practice—the true precursor of the Platonist "latitudinarians" of the next generation: Milton may have been then too young to admire the man who could say, "I cannot believe that truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of truth," and (with reference to conformity in ceremonial details) "I love not to be singular where I have no scruple."

Chappell and Mead were both forty years old or more when Milton came up: and (to a freshman) a man of forty has one foot in the grave. A very dissimilar man, and ten years younger, was Michael Honywood. He was the man of business in the Society, elected President (there were Presidents then as well as Masters) over the heads of at least three his seniors. To him especially we owe the Fellows' building: he collected money for it, he gave money, he lent money; and when funds failed in the bad days of the Civil War, he fitted out at his own cost the rooms for occupation. A strong royalist, he lost, about 1643, his living of Kegworth, where (I fear) he had never resided. Settled at Utrecht, he seems to have taken part (probably a harmless one) in plots for the Restoration. He had his reward in 1660, and was Dean of Lincoln for 21 years. Himself "a living library for learning," he built the beautiful Library in the Lincoln Cloister, to which he gave the majority of his books, but some to the College.

Much nearer in date to Milton were two Fellows of

some mark, Robert Gell, M.A. 1621, and John Alsop, M.A. 1624. Both were on friendly terms with Mead, with whom they had much in common. Both seem to have been chaplains of Laud. Gell was appointed, perhaps by Laud, to St Mary Aldermary in 1641, and held it for 23 years. He was a good scholar, but bitten by the astrological fancies of the day. Alsop was more important. Banished to France after Laud's execution, he made the acquaintance of Descartes; and we have it on good authority[1] that "he was the first occasion of introducing that Philosophy (Cartesianism) into Cambridge, and occasioned those many letters between Descartes and Dr Moor [Henry More] of Christ's College which are printed in his [More's] Works." This was a great service rendered to Cambridge. One of these two seems not unlikely to have been the somewhat elder friend who remonstrated with Milton near the end of his Cambridge career, on the apparent purposelessness of his life, and called forth the wonderful letter (quoted by Masson, I. 324) which contains the sonnet "on arriving at the age of 23": this would be an idle guess, did not Milton himself in 1642 speak of "these courteous and learned men the Fellows...who at my parting...signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay: as by many letters, *both before that time and long after*, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me." (See the whole, quoted above by Prof. Hales.)

A Society which contained as its leading members men, such as I have briefly described, was not likely to be on

[1] Josias Alsop of Oxford, nephew of John, writing 1712, "this I have been assured of several times from Dr Moor and Dr Cudworth, his contemporaries."

the side which Milton took in the early 'forties. As a fact, by that time all but the two oldest—Bainbrigge and Power, who were suffered to linger on and die in College, had passed away. Of the Fellows of that day about half were ejected: others disappeared. Only three survived the Commonwealth: of whom were Henry More and Ralph Widdington.

I must give (as Masson has not given) some account—the briefest possible—of a few of the fellow-students of Milton at Christ's: some of them are only types of many others. Several of them were to play no small part in the coming years. Some must have had character enough to make some mark even on him: the larger number would in some way be impressed by him—perhaps unfavourably. There was no prophet to tell which of these lads were to be cavalier or roundhead, or the "godly and orthodox divines," "the able painful preachers," who not many years later were to displace (sometimes their old College friends) "the scandalous and malignant priests"—an alarming description which in many cases implied no greater guilt than reading the proclamation commonly called the "Book of Sports," "railing in the Communion-table," and expressing their opinion, somewhat freely no doubt, of the Parliament. Turning over the entries between 1622 and 1629 I find, for example, Samuel Alsop of Acton in Suffolk, who appears in the "First Century of Scandalous Priests": and Robert Cheslen, of St Matthew's, Friday Street, guilty of the further scandal of escaping from London to join the King at Oxford. There was Edward, son of Sir Hamon Whichcote of Dunston, a royalist who was fined £1013, afterwards reduced to £513 on the somewhat severe condition (often found in such cases) that he was to settle £50 a year for ever on the minister of Harpswell. In the same year was

Sir William Ellis, M.P. for Boston through many Parliaments, Solicitor-General under Cromwell and created by him a baronet, who after the Restoration became Justice of the Common Pleas: and John Shaw, a mighty preacher, "Barnabas quam Boanerges"—a description not uncommon in epitaphs—Vicar of Rotherham and Master of the Charterhouse, Hull, "silenced" in 1662, though he continued to preach afterwards "in tolerable security": and another of the "silenced," John Hieron, of Ashbourne and of Bradwell, "a prophet and the son of a prophet," whose study was his paradise and "the swallowing of books his most delightful meat and drink." One who must surely have been loved by Milton was Samuel Bolton—of his own year, who occurs twice in Masson's lists without a word of comment, the Master of the College (after Bainbrigge's death) for eight years, the forcible and practical preacher who "snatcht our souls by vigorous sympathy," as one of the Fellows said in his funeral eulogy, who was so simple-minded that "in the world's things he seemed stept out of doore." There was also Samuel Torshel of Bunbury, Cheshire, who was appointed by Parliament tutor to the younger children of the King: in 1645 he dedicated *The Woman's Glorie* to the hapless Princess Elizabeth, his pupil.

We find plenty of cavaliers: first, Andrew Halford of Wistow, whose father Sir Richard raised a troop of horse and sent them into the field under command of young Andrew: Andrew took prisoners a party of Parliamentarians and in a fit of enthusiasm hanged them all: later on, a prisoner himself, and condemned for murder, he saved his life by an enormous ransom—£30,000 it was said, anyhow enough to make the mouth of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer water. Another, Sir William Boteler of Barham Court, Kent, fell fighting for the King at Cropredy Bridge

in 1644. These two were by two years Milton's seniors: younger by two years was Sir Charles Lucas, the great cavalry leader, who fought at Marston Moor, was made prisoner in 1645, gave his parole not to fight again, broke it by garrisoning Colchester, and when the town surrendered was shot in the Castle yard 28 August 1648. There was also Sir Justinian Isham of Lamport, Mead's favourite pupil, who was imprisoned and released on compounding for his estates. Here may come Hamon L'Estrange, son of Sir Hamon of Hunstanton, and elder brother of the more widely-known Roger (who was of Sidney), a learned and thoughtful man, who was royalist on deliberation as much as by family tradition in the early days of the war, served with his father in the Lynn affair in 1643, but was afterwards reconciled to the government of the day and lived quietly at Ringstead till 1660, devoted to theological study, "a Calvinist with hereditary reverence for the Church of England." Among all Milton's polemics none is better known (because of its immense biographical interest) than the second of those which had their origin in *Smectymnuus*[1]. L'Estrange in 1651 entered the lists on the other side with a little pamphlet called *Smectymnuo-mastix* (!), which shows both learning and fairness, and is wholly free from the personal invective which disfigures so much of Milton's polemics. His writings lived: his *Alliance of Divine Offices* (a work on English liturgies) was republished in 1846. An

[1] For the "humble Remonstrance, written by Smectymnuus," see Masson, 2. 219: it was written by Stephen Marshall, Edward Calamy, Thomas Young (Milton's old tutor), Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow: they clubbed together their initials, and so produced the awful name, which appalled John Cleveland:

> Smectymnuus! The goblin makes me start.
> I' the name of Rabbi Abraham, what art?

active Parliamentarian was Henry Massingberd of Bratoft, who was created a baronet by Cromwell, but acquiesced in the Restoration: and Luke Robinson, the strongly puritan M.P. for Pickering Lyth, of whose conversion Pepys tells in his diary of 2 May 1660—how when the House voted £50,000 as a present supply to the King without a single No, "Luke Robinson himself stood up and made a recantation of what he had done, and promises to be a loyal subject to his Prince for the time to come": the House nevertheless "discharged him from sitting" on July 21.

In all of these Milton may have found something to like, even where he did not agree. There were others to whom he must have been drawn by similarity of nature and of tastes. One such was John Cleveland, himself a true poet, at Christ's in Milton's later years, B.A. 163½ when Milton was incepting in Arts, afterwards a Fellow at St John's—and an ejected one, the popular satirist whose works (as Bishop Percy noted) were being "poured out in innumerable impressions," when Milton's "could with difficulty gain admission to the Press." We know Milton's affection for Edward King: that affection raised him a memorial which will perish only with the English language, and one which (sooth to say) his poetical remains seem hardly to deserve. If Lycidas could "build the lofty rhyme," he did not build very high in any of his contributions to sets of gratulatory verses sent by the University on various occasions: but his frequent appearance as a contributor shows that Milton was not singular in his judgment of him.

The last to whom I shall refer is one who must have been dear to Milton, unless we discard the testimony of his friend Richard Crashaw. William Herries, son of Sir William of Margaretting, Essex, was one year senior to Milton at Christ's; he was B.A. 162⅞, and was elected to

a Fellowship at Pembroke Hall, 8 January $163\frac{0}{1}$: he held it only nine months, dying 15 October of the same year. Crashaw commemorated him in four poems, full indeed of conceits, but some of these surely full of noble thought. He tells of Herries as

> A plant of noble stemme, forward and faire
> As ever whisper'd to the Morning Ayre.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> In him goodnesse joy'd to see
> Learning learne Humility:
> The splendor of his Birth and Blood
> Was but the glosse of his own Good:
> The flourish of his sober youth
> Was the Pride of Naked Truth.

He was so prematurely ripe that his death was also earlier than its natural date.

> The ripe endowments of his mind
> Left his Yeares so much behind
> That numb'ring of his vertues praise
> Death lost the reckoning of his Dayes;
> And believing what they told
> Imagined him exceeding old.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> Even the Iron-pointed pen
> That notes the Tragick Doomes of men
> Wet with teares still'd from the eyes
> Of the flinty Destinies,
> Would have learnt a softer style
> And have been ashamed to spoyle
> His lifes sweet story, by the hast
> Of a cruell stop ill-plac't.

If these lines do not move us like Lycidas, they have a charm all their own.

JOHN PEILE.

THE MEMORY OF JOHN MILTON.

[*Speech delivered by Mr J. W. Mackail, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, at the Tercentenary dinner.*]

WE are assembled here in the hall of Christ's to celebrate the 300th anniversary of her most illustrious son: to do honour, I was about to say, to the most eminent of the English poets; but the great poets do not receive honour from men, and I should rather say to do him reverence. Yet fame is a plant that grows on mortal soil as well as in higher regions; and such an occasion is not one for silence; something must be said, however briefly and however inadequately, to mark our sense of its dignity, and to pay homage to the living and earthly fame of Milton.

For the brevity of the words in which I shall attempt to discharge this duty, your gratitude is due to those who have organised the proceedings of the evening. For their inadequacy any excuse must be superfluous with those who know how inadequate is all criticism, even all praise, of the immortals.

It may seem indeed to require some excuse, or some explanation, that this task should be entrusted not to a member of Milton's own college, or even of his own university, but to a stranger. This it does not rest with me to explain; but it suggests the reflection that Cambridge, though she is so rich in poets—or is it because she is so rich in poets?—has not thought fit to make any stated provision for the study and interpretation of poetry. There has never been a professor of poetry at Cambridge. At Oxford there have been four-and-twenty. Most of them are dead, and the

only one available is now lent for the occasion. It is not the first time that something of the sort has happened. Milton has received many tributes from Oxford. His primacy in English poetry may be said to have been first publicly proclaimed by Addison, and to have been established by the judgment extorted almost against his will from Johnson. But in his own University he has never wanted his admirers, his lovers, or his critics. Johnson, when hunting desperately for something that should do Milton's name discredit, makes much of the fact that early in his residence he (like many other eminent men) came into collision with the authorities of his college. The differences must have been trivial; for he lived and learned, studied and wrote here for five years more. But not only Christ's, Cambridge itself, and the studies for which Cambridge was even then becoming famous, gave a specific direction to his genius and left an indelible impress on his poetry. Let me recall this one fact, not without significance. In the *Paradise Lost*, where he could give, and knew that he could give, immortality to any name by the mere mention of it, he has deigned to mention one and one only among his contemporaries. Who was it? It was not a statesman or soldier, a scholar or theologian; it was not even a poet. It was the most eminent man of science of that age, the great Italian physicist and astronomer who showed the way to all that splendid succession who have made, or who still make, this university illustrious in the study of the universe—Galileo, the predecessor of Newton and Flamstead, of Kelvin and the Darwins. It is that last name only which may make one hesitate to speak of Milton as the most illustrious name on the rolls of Christ's.

The Tuscan artist—that is the name which Milton gives to Galileo, as if to indicate that science and art are in vital conjunction, as they were in his own person, and in his own poetry. For in that poetry the science is as wonderful as the art; the art is science applied to thought and language, and transfigured by that creative imagination on which the discoveries of science, like the achievements of art, are ultimately based. In the science of his art Milton stands alone among the English poets, without equal or second; it is this which makes him, in the full sense of the word, a classic; it sets him in the same circle with Sophocles and Virgil.

Thus on the dazzling roll of poets whom Cambridge claims as her sons, this college, where Milton formed his mind and grew up into his powers, takes the first place. She takes precedence of St John's, though St John's can bring forward the name of Wordsworth: of Pembroke, though that was the college of Spenser and Gray: even of Trinity, notwithstanding the triple splendour of Dryden and Byron and Tennyson. All these were great poets, but none of them did what Milton did, and what can perhaps only be done once in the history of any nation, in the progress of any art; and that was, in a word, to attain perfection.

For it was nothing short of perfection that Milton set before himself, or thought worth attaining. From first to last he trod his own path, solitary on the heights. With the development of 17th century poetry, with the movement which carried England from the age of Shakespeare to the age of Dryden and Pope, he had no concern and little or no connection. In the Vacation Exercise, written in his 19th year in this college and recited in this hall, he has already cut

himself adrift from his age. The poetry of his contemporaries he has already scanned with that severe beautiful boy's face of which the image has been preserved to us, has weighed and dismissed as slight and fantastic; already he is soaring above the wheeling poles, and listening to Apollo at the door of heaven. For the sake of this perfection he studied silently and intensely, writing little, publishing less, till an age at which most poets have done their finest work. At three-and-twenty, just before leaving Cambridge, he gravely records that, in that age of precocious maturities, his own late spring showed no bud nor blossom. Yet he had then written the *Nativity Ode*, and had written or was just about to write the *Allegro* and *Penseroso*. Three years later he wrote, still under that strange deliberate sense of immaturity, the *Comus*; it was not until three more years had passed that he allowed it to be published, and even then with a cry of pain—*Eheu, quid volui misero mihi? floribus austrum perditus!* It was not that he thought little of it, or of anything that he ever wrote. Self-depreciation was never a weakness of his; he preserved even school-exercises written at St Paul's, and published them afterwards, as though it were enough to give them value—as indeed in a way it is—that they bore the signature of John Milton. But even of his finest work before the *Paradise Lost* he seems to have felt that it was not good enough to stand above that signature.

Then came a long gap of twenty years; and then, just as that strenuous self-education was complete, just as the perfection for which he had waited and worked so long was on the point of attainment, he fell blind, and the talent which is death to hide seemed lodged with him useless in a dark

world. When we look at his earlier manuscripts, with all their erasures and corrections, we may well wonder what the *Paradise Lost* would have been if he had been able to give it the final touches of a faultless and fastidious hand. When we think of it composed in darkness, preserved in memory, dictated in fragments, it may well seem to us the most astonishing of all the products of high genius guided by unconquerable will. In the fine and just words of De Quincey, the *Paradise Lost* is not a book among books, not a poem among poems, but a central force among forces. The critics deny the existence of blind Maeonides. Only in Beethoven among all the great artists of the modern world is there anything that offers even a remote parallel to Milton's achievement.

The work of Milton's contemporaries was to civilise English poetry, to establish it as an organic part of the republic of letters, to forge it into an instrument capable of conveying and interpreting the great intellectual movement of the 18th century which gave birth to the modern world. Milton moved on a higher plane, in a different atmosphere. He had little effect upon his contemporaries, or upon their successors. He founded no school; he gave no impulse to letters, except that impulse received by all true artists when they see and recognise perfect art. His object and scope were higher; he aimed at perfection and was contented with nothing short of it. For that he discarded all else, tears and laughter, the common sweetness of earth, the power to move the heart and to bring healing into the lives of men. He stands now, as he stood then, austere, magnificent, alone. The only other English poet who has aimed, though he did not reach, so high, has drawn what might be a picture of him

in lines that have caught something of Milton's own haughty and severe majesty.

> "No airy and light passion stirs abroad
> To ruffle or to soothe him; all are quell'd
> Beneath a mightier, sterner stress of mind.
> Wakeful he sits, and lonely, and unmov'd
> As oftentimes an eagle, ere the sun
> Throws o'er the varying earth his early ray,
> Stands solitary, stands immoveable,
> Upon some highest cliff, and rolls his eye,
> Clear, constant, unobservant, unabased,
> In the cold light above the dews of morn."

A MILTONIC EXERCISE.

[*Written by request for the College celebration of Milton's tercentenary.*]

> "*Stops of various Quills.*"
> *Lycidas.*

What need of votive Verse
To strew thy Laureat Herse
With that mix'd *Flora* of th' *Aonian Hill*?
Or *Mincian* vocall Reed,
That *Cam* and *Isis* breed,
When thine own Words are burning in us still?

Bard, Prophet, Archimage!
In this cash-cradled Age,
We grate our scrannel Musick, and we dote.
Where is the Strain unknown,
Through Bronze or Silver blown,
That thrilled the Welkin with thy woven Note?

Yes,—we are "selfish Men."
Yet would we once again
Might see *Sabrina* braid her amber Tire;
Or watch the *Comus* crew
Sweep down the Glade; or view
Strange-streamer'd Craft from *Javan* or *Gadire*!

Or could we catch once more,
High up, the Clang and Roar
Of Angel conflict, Angel overthrow:
Or, with a World begun,
Behold the young-ray'd Sun
Flame through the Groves where the *Four Rivers* flow!

* * *

Ay me, I fondly dream!
Only the storm-bird's scream
Foretells of Tempest in the days to come;
Nowhere is heard up-climb
The lofty lyric Rhyme
And the "God-gifted Organ-voice" is dumb.

AUSTIN DOBSON.

MANNERS OF THE ENGLISH IN THE DAYS OF MILTON.

IN the *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1807, vol. I., p. 69, there is an article on the Customs and Manners of the English. It treats of the customs and manners of various dates, previously to the year 1678 (seventy years after Milton's birth), and was taken from the collections of Mr Aubery relating to North Wilts, as preserved (in 1807) in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The account of the manners of our forefathers in the days of Milton is so vivid and exact that I here give it almost in full. There is no reason for doubting its correctness, and we can judge for ourselves what considerable improvements have been effected during the last three centuries.

"From the time of Erasmus till about twenty years last past [*i.e.* till 1658], the learning was downright pedantry. The conversation and habits of those times were as starcht as their bands and square beards, and gravity was then taken for wisdom. The doctors in those days were but old boys, when quibbles passed for wit, even in their sermons. The gentry and citizens had little learning of any kind, and their way of breeding up their children was suitable to the rest. They were as severe to their children as their schoolmasters, and their schoolmasters as masters of the house of correction: the child perfectly loathed the sight of his parents, as the slave his torture. Gentlemen of thirty and forty years old were to stand like mutes and fools bare-

headed before their parents[1]; and the daughters (grown women) were to stand at the cupboard-side during the whole time of the proud mother's visit, unless (as the fashion was) leave was desired, forsooth, that a cushion should be given them to kneel upon, brought by the serving-man, after they had done sufficient penance in standing....The gentlewomen had prodigious fans, as is to be seen in old pictures, like that instrument which is used to drive feathers, and in it had a handle at least half a yard long; with these the daughters were oftentimes corrected; (Sir Edward Coke[2], lord chief justice, rode the circuit with such a fan; Sir William Dugdale[3] told me he was an eye-witness of it; the Earl of Manchester[4] also used such a fan): but fathers and mothers slasht their daughters in the time of their besom discipline when they were perfect women. At Oxford (and I believe at Cambridge) the rod was frequently used by the tutors and deans; and doctor Potter, of Trinity college[5], I knew right well, whipt his pupil with his sword by his side, when he came to take his leave of him to go to the inns of court."

WALTER W. SKEAT.

[1] It seems incredible; but I remember, in my young days, a lady who invariably and submissively addressed her husband as "sir." And this was as late as 1860.

[2] He died in 1633. [3] 1605—1686.

[4] The first Earl of Manchester, Sir Henry Montagu, died in 1642.

[5] Trinity College, Oxford. John Aubrey (as the name is more commonly written) was born in 1626, and died in 1697; he was entered a gentleman commoner of that college in 1642.

THE STORY OF SATAN IN THE EARLIEST ENGLISH POETRY.

AT a time when Milton's work is attracting special attention, it may be of some interest, in connection with one part of it which does not deal with 'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme,' to notice how one of the chief characters in his great poem had been presented at an earlier time in English literature, and to try in some measure to appreciate the feelings which the story of the lost archangel might excite in the poet who took it as the theme of his verse and in those to whom through that verse it became known. To do so it will be well to say a few words about the nature and the permanence of the heroic ideal among the English in the pre-Conquest times.

In a well-known passage of the *Germania* Tacitus gives some of the heroic attributes that marked the character of the Germans. He notes the bravery and liberality of the *princeps*, the bravery and, what seems most strongly to have impressed him, the loyalty of the *comitatus*. 'It is a disgrace for the chief to be surpassed in valour, a disgrace for his followers not to equal the valour of the chief. And it is an infamy and a reproach for life to have survived the chief, and returned from the field. To defend, to protect him, to ascribe one's own brave deeds to his renown, is the height of loyalty. The chief fights for victory; his vassals fight for their chief....Men look to the liberality of their chief for their warhorse and victorious lance. Feasts and entertainments...are plentifully furnished....The means of

this bounty come from war and rapine.' That these characteristics continued to mark the heroic type among the English as late as the 11th century will appear from the early literature.

The hero as he is seen in Beowulf, whether as *princeps* or *comes*, quite answers to the description of Tacitus. The epithet applied to the Danish chief, Hrothgar, the king *sans reproche* (cyning orleahtre, B. 1885) marks his munificence: he is the 'treasure-giver' of his followers (*sincgyfa*, B. 1012); and the frequent occurrence of such epithets in the poetical literature shews that such liberality was recognised as a characteristic of the noble chief. That Hrothgar deserved the epithet is seen in his treatment of Beowulf. Speaking of the gifts that rewarded the latter's services the poet says:

> In friendlier fashion few of men have I heard of,
> that four such treasures, fretted with gold,
> gave to other. 1027

And when later Beowulf leaves the Danish court, he goes, thanks to Hrothgar's munificence, 'exulting in treasure' (*since hremig*, 1882), and extols again and again the value of the king's gifts (1884). And not only by example, but also by precept, the king commended liberality to his guest, and gave force to his advice by shewing the disastrous effects of its opposite, as seen in the case of the ruler who

> gave not golden rings 1719
> to the Danes in due measure,

and was left desolate (*dreámleás gebád*, 1720).

> Learn a lesson from this, 1722
> know how to be liberal

says Hrothgar, and Beowulf learnt the lesson. When the faithful Wiglaf upbraided his craven comrades, who had deserted Beowulf, their lord, he reminds them that it was Beowulf 'who had given them treasures,' and (like the *princeps* of Tacitus) 'the war-weeds they stood in' (2865). And in the epitaph which told the virtues of the dead hero he is called of all men most munificent (3150).

And the thane, the *comes*, is true to such a chief, the *princeps*; or if he fail in his loyalty he is the scorn of all true men. With the feelings of the *comes* of Tacitus Wiglaf says

death is better
for all of men than life with reproach, 2890

and the scorn alike of Wiglaf and of the poet is poured on the craven ten who held aloof in Beowulf's dire need:

At last those laggards in fight left the wood where they lurked,
fainthearted and faithless five twice told together,
that dared not before with darts to make play,
in their liege lord's last dire need,
but sore ashamed their shields they bore,
their weeds of war where worn with age he lay. 2845

The same picture is given of an English leader and his followers, of Byrhtnoth, the hero of the poem which tells the tale of the battle of Maldon in which he fell. He was brave, 'he would not bear cowardice' (By. 6), as was proved by his conduct in the battle, and he had been a liberal chief. Like Beowulf he had faithful followers, those who after his death (again like the *comes* of Tacitus) 'pressed on, recked not of life' (260), who would die or avenge the lord they had loved (208), against whom should

never be brought the shameful reproach that they left the field alive on which their lord lay dead (220). But there were others, who though boasting at the board of the deeds they would do (201), had not borne the stress of battle, but had fled; and these were pursued by the scorn and reproaches of their comrades.

> Us hath Godric,
> Odda's craven child, all played false.

Of whom the poet says with like reproach:

> They bent from battle that liked little to be there,
> first in the flight fled Odda's sons,
> Godric from war went and the good man abandoned,
> that oft and again had given him a steed.

These few instances may be sufficient to suggest the permanence of some of the traits noted by Tacitus: the mutual relations of *princeps* and *comes*, as he describes them, may be seen in action in these English poems. These poems, it is true, deal with purely secular subjects, but it may be shewn that when the English were converted to Christianity the old habits of thought and modes of expression were by no means abandoned, and the new characters that were made the subjects of poetry were adapted to native conceptions. In the case of many of those from the Old Testament the transformation was not difficult. Abraham, when he rescued Lot, was not so unlike the English thane who rescued from Danish or other marauders the booty they were carrying off, that it would seem quite inappropriate to use for the followers of the patriarch the same epithets that could be applied to the poet's countrymen, and the simple statement of Gen. xiv. 14: 'Abram numeravit expeditos vernaculos suos trecentos

decem et octo' expands (as a poetical rendering of a prose passage in the Chronicle would do) into half-a-dozen verses:

> Then the holy one bade his hearth band
> to take their weapons: he there of warriors found
> ashshafted spearbearers eighteen
> and CCC eke, lord-loyal ones,
> of whom he knew that well could each one
> to the fird bear their brown linden shields. 2039

And a few lines later Abraham's men are called wolves of war (*hilde wulfas*, 2051).

But it was not only in such cases that the old poetical vocabulary still found employment. Even for the heroes of the Christian faith, of the Gospel of peace, the English poet drew upon the old heathen vocabulary of war for his terms of praise. The poet of the story of St Andrew begins his poem very much in the style in which the poet of the Beowulf begins his, the one with a reference to the heroic Danes, the other to the heroic apostles, who are described in the terms which belong to the warrior Danes; they were

> twelve beneath the stars glorious heroes
> thanes of a prince: their power failed not
> in stern conflict, when standards were breaking.
> They were mighty men upon earth,
> folk-leaders full strong, keen on the fird,
> stout warriors, when shield and hand
> on the battle-field defended the helm,
> on the plain where fate is fixed.

Quite in keeping with this is the scene later in the poem, when St Andrew proposes to his disciples that they should remain by the shore, while he himself goes on the dangerous

journey to the city of the Cannibals. To this their reply is that of the *comitatus* that knows what perpetual infamy attaches to the follower that deserts his lord:

> whither shall we take our way when we lose our lord
> mournful of mind, with miss of all good,
> foul with wounds of sin, if we are false to thee;
> we shall be loathed by the men of all lands,
> by folks counted infamous, when men of courage
> sit to consider in their assembly
> which of them best in battle backed up his lord,
> when hand and shield were hard bestead
> on the fatal field where fell the fey.

There is nothing in such passages that distinguishes them from the poems which deal with the warriors of Teutonic or Old Testament story, no epithet which is not used of the followers of Beowulf and Byrhtnoth, of Jewish or Assyrian princes. Everywhere the new knowledge is reshaped till it takes the form of the old; the new-comers to English soil give up their foreign citizenship and become naturalized Englishmen. In speaking even of the Deity the same influence is at work. The earthly king is a munificent giver, he is *beah-gifa*, *sinc-gifa*; God is the life-giver (*feorh-gifa*), the giver of glory, benefits, prosperity, &c. (*ár-*, *blǽd-*, *eád-*, *wuldor-gifa*): the earthly king, thanks to his bravery is victorious (*sige-fæst*); the same epithet is applied to Christ, who is an *æþeling*, a prince of the blood royal.

As may be supposed, the treatment of the central figure in the great rebellion in heaven is no exception to the general rule, which, as has been suggested above, was followed in dealing with persons who were not of English race.

Lucifer is the greatest thane of a great chief, of a perfect king who, practising all kingly virtues, has shewn the munificence which is the indispensable attribute of the prince who would retain the allegiance of his followers. Among the angels who were the vassals, the *comitatus*, of the Almighty:

> One He had wrought so strong,
> so mighty of mind, o'er so much He gave him rule,
> next in heaven to the Highest: of hue so splendid He wrought him,
> so delightsome his form that the Lord of hosts gave him,
> like was he to the stars of light.

Such benefits should have confirmed the allegiance and gratitude of the thane. With the *comes* of Tacitus it was the height of loyalty to ascribe one's own brave deeds to the renown of the chief, and so it should have been with Lucifer:

> the Lord's praise he should have wrought,

and in his gratitude

> prized his glad life in heaven, paid his Lord thanks
> for all the good granted, then had God left him
> long to possess it.

But the very greatness of the favour shewn him proved his destruction. He had been made so mighty that in his pride he became envious of his chief:

> then was it displeasing that the prince was
> stern and resolved. *Sat.* 247

Like one of those German chiefs, who according to Tacitus vied with one another as to who should have the most numerous and the bravest followers, he endeavours to get

a *comitatus* that may be superior to that of the Deity, and addresses himself to the angels:

> Ye may learn from me lasting good,
> if ye in my power put your trust;
> let us contemn this great protector,
> this lord of legions, make this land of light ours.

The appeal is successful, and now he trusts not merely to equal the most High but

> him thought
> that he might and force more had,
> than the holy God could have,
> of followers.

So he determines to throw off his allegiance:

> he could not find it in his heart
> to be liegeman to the Lord, live in his service.

In his blind arrogance he exclaims:

> What! must I labour? no least need have I
> to do homage to any; with my hands can I work
> many a marvel: might have I mickle
> to prepare and stablish a statelier throne,
> a higher in heaven. Why must I humbly serve,
> sue for grace as a vassal? I may be a God as he.
> By me stand stout comrades that in strife will not fail me,
> heroes of hardy soul, they have hailed me their chief.

Trusting then to equal the most High if he opposed, he raises impious war, 'wickedly he warred (*mid máne gewann*, 299),' and with vain attempt, 'their hopes deceived them (*him seó wén geleáh*, 49)' and God 'broke their pride (*bælc forbígde*, 54).' The defeat was followed by banishment from heaven:

God's favour he forfeited and was flung into hell,
into its deep dales, where to devil he turned,
The fiend with his fellows all fell then from heaven
through so long as three nights and days,
from on high to hell, horribly changed
from angels to devils.

And now the thought of lost happiness torments him in his place of exile, 'a land that was lacking of light and yet full of flame' (333). There

fierce surged within him
hot thoughts round his heart,

and he breaks out:

all unlike is this place, that prisons me straitly,
to that other that erstwhile we knew
in heaven's kingdom on high, which I held of my Lord,
a loathlier landscape looked on I never.

He is tormented, too, by the thought that their pain is lasting, that their victor is inexorable:

nevermore shall I live in that light that He long thinks to enjoy,
never while life shall last can we look to win
this from Almighty God, that we his mood soften.

But worst torment of all is the thought that mankind would have the happiness he had lost:

to me this of griefs is greatest,
that Adam shall, who of earth was wrought,
have and hold my high seat;
for him life be all pleasure, while pain we must suffer,
hurt in this hell.
in my breast is bitterness,
there is grief in my heart that they heaven's kingdom
for ever shall own.

Stung by these thoughts he cries out:

> Alas! had I my hands free
> and might short space spend out of hell,
> have but an hour, then with this host I—

Then the sense of his helplessness comes upon him:

> but about me there lie bonds of iron,
> on me swing loops of chain, I am left without power,
> hard have the clasps of hell clutched me and fast.

In man, however, was the one chance of getting some alleviation of his misery, the one point where, as he believed, his great adversary had felt himself to be vulnerable:

> well knew the Lord of Hosts
> that ill had it gone between Adam and me
> concerning heaven's kingdom were my hands free.

It was the creation of these new followers of the Lord he had deserted, that gave an opportunity for the study of revenge:

> we may work out revenge,
> repay him with pain that he deprived us of light.
> He hath appointed a place, where put hath he man
> formed in his image, and will fill therewith
> the kingdom of heaven. Keen must our study be
> that upon Adam, if ever we can,
> and on his offspring, our envy we glut.
> Bend your thoughts to this all of you
> how to deceive them.

Powerless to act himself he makes to his thanes an appeal to which no loyal thane could be insensible, and he accompanies this with a promise to do that which no noble prince would leave undone:

if I to any thane presents of a prince worthy
of yore have given, while in the goodly realm
happy we sat on the seats that were ours,
there never than now were better time my boons to repay.

The proof of gratitude for which he asks is that the attempt should be made to seduce Adam and Eve from their allegiance to God, and

he that renders this service, for him is recompense ready
for ever and ever, from all that we can
of good in this fire gain henceforth.

The attempt is made with success, and the faithful thane can say

now have I thy grace
worked for and won, and thy will have performed
for full many a day men are misled.

He had done that which would soften the hardships of hell, for his chief had said:

softly may I
rest in these chains, if that realm is lost to them.

So he apostrophizes Satan:

may thy soul be
blithe in thy breast, for here both are done,
the kindred of men the kingdom of heaven
now must forfeit, and into the fire to thee
into the heat of hell; eke is hurt to God,
sorrow of soul done.

To a poet who was a Christian and an Englishman the rebellious angel was not an object of pity. To the Christian Lucifer was the adversary of God, to the Englishman he was the follower who had failed in loyalty to his prince, he had fought *mid máne*; and as the man who swears *mid máne* is perjured, so he who fights *mid máne* is a traitor;

his is impious war. When he falls there is no sympathy for him, he but meets the fate that is the desert of all those who in their wicked folly fight against their Lord, 'he spoke haughty words like a fool against his liege lord,' and must pay the penalty of his act:

> so shall every man do,
> that against his ruler raises war
> with impious hand against the Highest.

The poet sends after the fugitive angels the same shaft of scorn that followed the beaten foes of Athelstan who fled at Brunanburgh: they

> with all that were left them had no cause to laugh,
> that in the business of battle they were the better men. 47

So the routed angels

> had no need to laugh loudly, but they should live
> weary in torments, while woe they should know,
> pain and sorrow, sore was their suffering.

In an earlier part of this article an attempt was made to infer from the poetry the feelings which the story of Satan might excite in an Englishman of the early time. As a supplement to this may be quoted in conclusion a passage from the historic prose as perhaps throwing some light on such feelings, for the tale there told offers in some respects a parallel to that of Satan. The atheling Cyneheard takes up arms against the king Cynewulf, and coming upon him unawares slays him. The king's thanes, who too late discover his death, are now offered life and money by the atheling, but none accepts the offer but 'ever were they fighting till they all lay dead.' Then in his turn the atheling is besieged by other thanes of the king. And to them he

offers money and land at discretion, if they will grant him the kingdom, and tells them that with him are their kinsmen who will not desert him. 'Then said they that no man was dearer to them than their lord, and that they never would follow his murderer.' And they offered to let their kinsmen depart safe and sound, who replied, that the same offer had been made 'to your comrades who were with the king.' And they said they cared not for the offer 'any more than your comrades did that were slain with the king.' And they fought till the atheling was slain and all that were with him.

To those among whom loyalty to a leader, whether his cause was good or bad, found such examples, the story of Satan must have strongly appealed. But spirituality was not a characteristic of the early English. The priest who gave as a reason for accepting the new faith that his long service had met with no reward from the old gods, and change offered a chance of better things: the king, who in the contention between the Roman and Scotch parties in the church attached himself to the former, because St Peter, who favoured it, held the keys of heaven and might decline to admit one of the opposite party: these must have had many parallels among parishioners and subjects: and the feelings of such were probably not more spiritual than those of the Highland mother from whom the story of the defection in Gethsemane drew the wish, that her sons with their broadswords had in that time of need occupied the places so unworthily filled by the disciples, and turned defeat into victory. But if the English thought with the simplicity of this mother they could act like her sons, and knew what it was to be faithful unto death.

THE MILTON TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION.

THE tercentenary of the year of Milton's birth has been celebrated in the College by an exhibition of Milton portraits, MSS., editions, and personal relics; and by a dinner to which a number of distinguished literary men were invited, and which was followed by a performance of *Comus* in the New Theatre.

The Exhibition, of which an account appears elsewhere, was held in the ground-floor rooms of the library, and was open June 12th to 24th and July 6th to 11th. It aroused very great interest among students and connoisseurs, and was visited by a large number of people.

The gratitude of the College is due to the Colleges and private owners who generously lent their treasures, and to the gentlemen who gave much time and trouble to their collection and arrangement, especially Dr G. C. Williamson, the great collector of Milton portraits, Mr Charles Sayle of St John's, and Mr Shipley. To Dr Williamson and Mr Sayle we owe the catalogue of the exhibition, which has been acclaimed on all hands as a very valuable contribution to the study of Milton portraiture and bibliography.

The guests at the dinner on July 10 were the Vice-Chancellors of Cambridge and of Oxford, the Poet Laureate, Sir Alfred Lyall, Mr Thomas Hardy, Dr Robert Bridges, Mr Austin Dobson, Sir J. A. H. Murray, Sir Frederick Bridge, Canon Beeching, Mr Henry Newbolt, Mr Sidney Lee, Professor Gollancz, Mr Lawrence Binyon, Professor Saintsbury, Mr Edmund Gosse, Professor Mackail, the Public Orator, the Master of Trinity, the Master of Peterhouse, the

Master of St John's, Professor J. E. B. Mayor, the Registrary, Mr Aldis Wright, the Provost of King's, the Master of Emmanuel, Mr Middleton-Wake, Mr Humphry Ward, Dr H. P. Allen, ProfessorAtkins, Mr A. Rothenstein, Mr Lionel Cust, Mr Yates Thompson, Mr Vernon Rendall, Dr G. C. Williamson, Dr J. F. Payne, Mr Greg, Professor W. M. Dixon, Mr L. Cope Cornford, Dr H. F. Heath, Mr Waller, Dr J. Holland Rose, Professor Joseph Mayor, Professor R. G. Moulton, the High Master of St Paul's, Professor Moore Smyth, the Rector of Chalfont St Giles, Mr Harben, Professor Weir Smith, Professor Littledale, Mr Harold Child, Mr Charles Sayle, Mr G. C. Macaulay; and the following former Fellows of the College: the Dean of Westminster, Dr Rouse, Mr C. F. G. Masterman, M.P., Mr F. Darwin, Professor Toller, Mr R. T. Wright, Professor Percy Gardner, Professor Reid, Mr W. W. Walker, the President of Queens', Mr Twentyman, Mr J. Wilson, Mr C. A. Vince, and Professor Nuttall. There were present as hosts the Master and all the Fellows: Mr Cartmell, Mr E. S. Thompson, Dr Hobson, Mr Greaves, Professor Skeat, Mr Shipley, Mr McLean, Mr Rackham, Dr Haddon, Mr Campbell, Mr Valentine-Richards, Mr Rastall, and Mr Fay. Among those who had hoped to be with us, but were prevented at the last moment, were the American Ambassador, the Librarian, the Hon. Lord Justice H. B. Buckley, Sir John Bonser, Dr Wallis Budge, Dr S. H. Butcher, M.P., Mr G. Lowes Dickinson, Mr A. W. Verity, Canon Burbidge, the Rev. G. T. Manley, and Prof. Graham Kerr.

Among those who were invited but were unable to accept the invitation, were Lord Ellesmere, Lord Tennyson, Viscount Morley, Sir Robert Hobart, the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt, the Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, Sir Charles Stanford, Sir E. Maunde Thompson, Professors Henry

MILTON TERCENTENARY DINNER

10 JULY 1908

Mr Cartmell

Professsor Mackail	The Master of St John's
The Public Orator	The Dean of Westminster
The Master of Trinity	Professor J. E. B. Mayor
The Poet Laureate	Dr Robert Bridges
THE MASTER	The Registrary
The Vice-Chancellor of Oxford	Mr Austin Dobson
The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge	The Master of Peterhouse
Sir Alfred Lyall	Mr Aldis Wright
Mr Thomas Hardy	Sir J. A. H. Murray

Professor Skeat

Mr Shipley

The Provost of King's
Canon Beeching
Mr Middleton-Wake
Mr Humphry Ward
Sir F. Bridge
Dr Allen
Dr Rouse
Professor Atkins
Mr Campbell
Mr A. Rothenstein

Mr Lionel Cust
Mr Yates Thompson
Mr V. Rendall
Dr G. C. Williamson
Dr J. F. Payne
Professor R. G. Moulton
Mr Rastall
Mr Greg
Professor W. M. Dixon
Mr L. C. Cornford

Mr Fay

Dr Hobson

Mr C. F. G. Masterman, M.P.
Mr Henry Newbolt
Mr F. Darwin
Professor Saintsbury
Professor Toller
Mr R. T. Wright
Dr H. F. Heath
Mr Waller

Professor Joseph Mayor
Professor Percy Gardner
The High Master of St Paul's
The President of Queens'
Mr Twentyman
Mr J. Wilson
Mr C. A. Vince
Professor Moore Smith

Mr Greaves

Mr E. S. Thompson

The Master of Emmanuel
Mr Sidney Lee
Dr J. Holland Rose
Dr Haddon
Professor Gollancz
Mr Lawrence Binyon
Professor Nuttall
The Rector of Chalfont St Giles
Mr Valentine-Richards
Mr Harben

Professor Weir Smyth
Professor J. S. Reid
Professor Littledale
Mr Harold Child
Mr Sayle
Mr Edmund Gosse
Mr Rackham
Mr G. C. Macaulay
Mr W. W. Walker

Mr McLean

Jackson, C. H. Herford, W. P. Ker, W. Raleigh, Edward Dowden, Oliver Elton and Gilbert Murray, the Bishops of Ely, Sodor and Man, and Osaka (Japan), Sir A. Scott Gatty, Lord Justice Moulton, Mr Justice Sutton, Mr Rawlinson, M.P., the Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, Dr A. C. Bradley, Mr F. J. Furnivall, Dr John Brown, Mr A. C. Benson, Mr Sidney Colvin, Mr Swinburne, Mr S. Phillips, Mr George Meredith, Mr Rudyard Kipling, Mr Owen Seaman, and Mr G. Bernard Shaw.

In the afternoon there was a reception at the Lodge, and the guests visited the Milton Exhibition. At the dinner the ménu card was graced by a photograph of Mr Shipley's miniature of Milton which forms the frontispiece of this number, and by some verses kindly written by request for the occasion by Mr Austin Dobson. The health of the King was given by the Master, who then briefly welcomed the guests of the College and called upon Professor Mackail to make the one speech of the evening, and propose the toast of "The Memory of John Milton."

Exactly at 9 o'clock the company rose from table, and repaired to the New Theatre, which was completely filled by guests of the College, for the performance of *Comus*. The mask was repeated on the next afternoon to a public audience. Some account of the production will be found below, and we are also privileged to print for our readers Mr Austin Dobson's poem and Professor Mackail's eloquent tribute to Milton.

We cannot close this brief record without offering our congratulations to the College on a very memorable celebration, and expressing our gratitude to the members of the College and their many enthusiastic assistants outside who originated and organized it or contributed to its success.

COMUS.

WHEN the curtain fell for the last time upon the performance of *Comus* on July the tenth, 1908, many of us found ourselves asking wherein the beauty of the representation, as we had then witnessed it, lay. Often as we may have read it, there was to those of us who had never seen it presented on the stage before (and they must have been the larger part of the audience) an added charm, as of a new delight added to life, wholly apart from the fact that it was one dramatic performance—scenic performance if you will—the more. It was partly, no doubt, that it was the end of a great festival gathering, to which the evening had been the climax. It was a tribute, a partially private tribute, to a great poet, to our own indigenous poet, but to a poet national none the less, to a poet whose fame was coextensive with the race, to a poet whose claim to sovereignty none could deny, surpassed only by one and never since equalled. Here was a tribute to one whom none could designate as a freak of nature's making, or as a madman divinely inspired. It was a tribute to Poetry itself, in the home of the Muses, happily hit upon by half-a-dozen enthusiasts of the poet's own age or even younger, to whom, as to Milton, the world was still full of ideals, and the beauty of the dawn, and of actual vision of Apollo. That night, the gods were among us, and yet we were all sane. For the moment the Poet was King among men.

All this was partly felt, intuitively grasped, but never once expressed. The movement of the evening, the rapid succession of actuality, left no time to analyse impressions; and, as so often happens, the long-desired realization had

vanished before one was aware of it. Even the three performances, which is all that was granted even to the most privileged of spectators, only left upon the mind a growing sense of beauty, a conviction after all of the correctness of the interpretation, within the limits imposed. There have been many occasions of the acting of this masque. Playwrights have worked upon it, with results of which it is possible for us to take the measure. But it is open to doubt whether any representation has taken place during three centuries that has more nearly approached the conditions under which it was originally performed, when Henry Lawes himself was Thyrsis and the Elder Brother was a boy of twelve.

The essential qualities of a masque are wholly distinct from those of a play properly conceived. The author of *Comus*, acting no doubt upon instructions, produced a work to which he at least appended the earlier title. Yet a recent critic in writing an entire book upon the subject, denies Milton the right to the claim. It is difficult to follow his reasoning upon the point, for in defining the inherent qualities of a masque, he names categorically two features, both of which were prominent in the Cambridge performance. He predicates the presence of a group of dancers, varying in number but commonly eight, twelve or sixteen, who never take part in the speaking or the singing, and of whom he only demands that they make an imposing show. The dances, further, must be of two kinds; stately figure dances, and livelier ones. It could have been imagined that in this the Poet had amply fulfilled the claims of his latest critic. It is true that in the livelier dances the masquers are required to choose partners of the opposite sex from the audience. This characteristic we

were happily spared: and we may well forego an enquiry, barren in its origin, which, however ludicrous now, has commended itself in addition to at least one foreign writer. If modern criticism is content with calling *Comus* a poem, and can satisfy its own canons (as it does) by finding that word in the prefatory epistle by Lawes, the controversy may well be left, here, to those who are willing to sustain it, while we turn, perhaps tardily, to the poem itself.

The care which had been bestowed upon the rendering in July manifested itself from the first moment. A cultivated musician, worthy in every sense to interpret the seventeenth century, was happily inspired by the documentary evidence of the manuscript written by Lawes himself, to create the necessary atmosphere. A moment later, and the 'dear and great Angel' of the modern poet, the Guardian Angel so familiar in all Italian art, whom Milton must have known in so many paths of literature, is present, the 'Presenter' so essential to the purist in criticism of the masque, in those sky-robes which, once seen, appeal so vividly to the eye, but which in the study half escape us on the printed page[1]. The opening is at least dramatic, and in keeping with the models of the best Greek literature. The movement goes on, if slowly, at least because, as was said of another poem, it is essential to get to the end. Is there less action than in many an Elizabethan scene? The stichomuthia, whatever Johnson may say, was essentially classic. The best judges complain of the absence of dramatic action. *The dramatic moment* of the play, in a psychological sense, is on the entry of the two brothers, with their swords drawn, into the palace of Comus.

[1] More than one writer has drawn the parallel of the Attendant Spirit and Ariel. The Attendant Spirit is indeed Ariel grown up.

The play has worked up to this moment, increasing in interest, and this is the moment which Fuseli, rightly judging, chose for his picture. From this moment at least, the audience know that all will go well. And if the dramatic interest of the play is thus sustained, the aesthetic interest surely does not fail. If for the purposes of dramatic representation the wood is not so thick as an artist, working in the safe freedom of his own studio, could have desired, yet surely in the sheer beauty of the second scene, the comparative sparsity of detail in the earlier one may be forgiven. The conception of the second picture, it may safely be asserted, was worthy of the best traditions of the greatest period of art. The antiquarianism which adapted the left half of the stage from a reminiscence of the back of the famous Ludovisi throne appealed to archaeologists who were present in considerable numbers.

The dramatic interest in its turn yields to what may be called *the emotional moment* of the play. Sabrina has freed the Lady from the Enchanter's chair. As the Lady rises, Sabrina descends from the throne and sinks into the earth. Right and Virtue have triumphed once again in the world's march over Vice and Wrong. All that is best has won. So too at least Milton saw, for it is at this moment, in words to which few can have listened unmoved, the Attendant Spirit breaks out:

Virgin, daughter of Locrine,
Sprung from old Anchises' line,
May thy brimmed waves for this
Their full tribute never miss
From a thousand petty rills
That tumble down the snowy hills:
Summer drouth or singèd air
Never scorch thy tresses fair,

Nor wet October's torrent flood
Thy molten crystal fill with mud;
May thy billows roll ashore
The beryl and the golden ore;
May thy lofty head be crown'd
With many a tower and terrace round,
And here and there thy banks upon
With groves of myrrh and cinnamon.

Surely no poetry in the world, coming at such a climax, could be set in human language more perfectly, more divinely? It is from the remembrance of such lines as these that the prize of criticism has been wrung, from Macaulay and, in our own day, from the Master of Peterhouse. If at the moment which we have designated the dramatic moment of the play, the later of these two writers can speak of the language as rising to 'almost matchless beauty,' it is surely when the Spirit—and here we must recognize Milton the Poet speaking in his own person—recites such lines as these that can be claimed from the same writer his final adjective, and speak of the poem as immortal.

It may be permissible on this occasion to point out one fact of some pathetic interest, in connexion with the performance of 1634 and the Bridgewater family, which has been so far overlooked. Lord Brackley, then a boy, as has been said already, of twelve was acting the part of the Elder Brother in the presence of his Father. But the two eldest sons of Lord Bridgewater already lay buried in *St Giles', Cripplegate.* Lord Brackley succeeded to his Father's title in 1649, and was to outlive Milton. We think of the Elder Brother, full of that graceful charm which almost shines through the lines of *Comus*, and which we know from his portrait that he possessed, progressing through the masque

of life with the poet-enchanter near him. We think of Milton, ever conscious of the boy-actor now the grown Lord; and one thinks of those graves in Cripplegate. *Sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.*

They have all gone, the music and the dancers, the invited guests, the happy players, and the artists; gone as suddenly as Comus and his rout: but the enchanter's magic still remains, and the allaying haemony; and these it is which spell for us, who were present on that unforgetable night, the imperishable name of Milton.

CHARLES SAYLE.

NOTE I. *On Lines* 330—480.

Was the masque of Comus acted at Ludlow in 1634 as we now read it? This seems to be more than open to question. It must be remembered that Lord Brackley at the time was a boy of twelve, and his younger brother at most eleven. We have to suppose them capable of reciting a hundred and fifty lines of poetry, and of poetry of this more than usually philosophical kind, a severe intellectual effort to anyone at any age; and the audience prepared to listen. It would appear to be far more probable that one of two courses was, in the event, adopted. Either the poet, at the suggestion of Lawes, put together the plot as it at present stands, but without elaboration; and subsequently prepared the masque which had already been acted for the appreciation of the reading public, embellishing and expanding in the process. Or the poem was written as it now stands, but in acting was considerably curtailed. Among the passages to be curtailed would certainly have been the speeches put into the mouths of the two little boys, which have proved such a stumbling block to all generations of actors and readers. Anyone who has had an opportunity of comparing the school-boys' acting editions with the complete plays, such as *The Tempest*, for example, will see what enormous liberties are taken, and advantageously, with the text of the author.

NOTE II. *On performances of Comus.*

Hazlitt saw Comus in June 1815, and wrote of the representation in *The Examiner*:

'Comus has been got up at Covent Garden Theatre with great splendour, and has had as much success as was to be expected...By the help of dance and song, 'of mask and antique pageantry,' this most delightful poem went off as well as any common pantomime. Mr Conway topped the part of Comus with his usual felicity, and seemed almost as if the genius of a maypole had inspired a human form. He certainly gives a totally new idea of the character...He is said to make a very handsome Comus: so he would make a very handsome Caliban: and the common sense of the transformation would be the same. Miss Stephens played the first Nymph very prettily and insipidly; and Miss Matthews played the second Nymph with appropriate significance of nods and smiles. Mrs Faucit, as the Lady, rehearsed the speeches in praise of virtue very well, and acted the scene of the Enchanted Chair admirably...Miss Foote made a very elegant Younger Brother.—It is only justice to add, that Mr Duruset gave the songs of the Spirit with equal taste and effect; and, in particular, sung the final invocation to Sabrina in a full and powerful tone of voice, which we have seldom heard surpassed.'

'These kind of allegorical compositions,' he adds with a fine disregard of grammar, 'are necessarily unfit for actual representation.' (Hazlitt, *Works*, 1903, Vol. viii. 230–1.)

We are very far here from the performance in the New Theatre. But it is only fair to add that what Hazlitt saw was that curious adaptation of Comus for the stage which was introduced in 1738, and which no one can read to-day without amazement.

For a list of performances, with details, see W. D. Adams, *Dictionary of the Drama.* For a performance given at the Cripplegate Institution on 2 Nov. 1904, not mentioned by Mr Adams, I am indebted for private information kindly supplied to me by the clerk.

Masson's interpretation of the play, it will be remembered, is mainly psychological: 'a serene spiritual lesson, a construction to one moral, and that moral the deepest and most treasured of his own private philosophy' (Milton, *Poetical Works*, 1890, 8°, Vol. I, p. 178).

THE MUSIC IN 'COMUS.'

FOR the first performance of 'Comus' five songs were composed by Henry Lawes, and these have come down to us in the autograph volume of Lawes' songs now in the possession of the Rev. H. R. Cooper Smith and lent by him to the Milton Exhibition. Another MS. copy, evidently copied from the autograph, is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 11,518). It is well known that the first printed edition of 'Comus' differs considerably from the Egerton MS. of the Mask, which more or less represents the form in which it was acted in 1634; and it must be further pointed out that Lawes further altered the text in order to provide a song both at the beginning and the end for the Attendant Spirit, whom he himself represented. Thus the opening lines of the epilogue were changed to 'From the Heavens now I fly' and set as a prologue, the epilogue beginning with the words 'Now my task is smoothly done.' Whether Milton approved of these changes is not known, but at any rate he restored the lines to their proper place in the first printed edition, and extended the epilogue so much as to make it quite impossible to sing it to Lawes' music. Milton's printed text being adopted for the Cambridge Tercentenary performance, it became necessary to abandon these two songs; and for other reasons the two remaining songs of the Attendant Spirit—'Sabrina fair' and 'Back, shepherds, back'—were also dropped. Lawes seems to have had to contend with similar difficulties himself, since he apparently wrote no music for the entrance of Sabrina,

although the structure of her lines makes it seem highly probable that Milton desired them to be sung. Nor have we any record of music for the various dances; in all probability Lawes utilized whatever dance-music was ready to hand. It was therefore necessary for us to select suitable dances by contemporary composers, and most of these were taken from 'Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book,' a manuscript volume in the British Museum (Add. MS. 10337), dating from the first half of the 17th century and including one song by Lawes himself. The entrance of Sabrina, preceded by the music of the invocation played by the instruments, was accompanied by the music written by Lawes for the (discarded) prologue, one of his most beautiful numbers being thus saved.

To reconstruct the original orchestra of lutes, viols, &c. would have been impossible; but as it was the custom of those days to have music played by whatever instruments were available on any given occasion, there was little anachronism in arranging the music as simply as possible for a band of strings. We reproduce here this arrangement for strings in a pianoforte score, limiting ourselves strictly to the music which actually was performed at Cambridge on July 10 and 11, 1908. It would have been pedantic to print the music exactly in its original form for voice or violin and *basso continuo* or for virginals, especially as Elizabeth Rogers appears to have been a very careless copyist. The general reader will find a pianoforte arrangement more convenient, and the list of references which follows will satisfy scholars who desire to refer to original sources.

Scene I.

Introduction ... 'The Satyres' Masque' (*Anon.*) ... Add. MS. 10444

The Measure ... 'Allmayne' (*Anon.*) ... Add. MS. 10337

Scene II.

Introduction ... 'Selebrand' (*Anon.*) ... Add. MS. 10337

Scene III.

Morris Dances ... ... *Traditional*

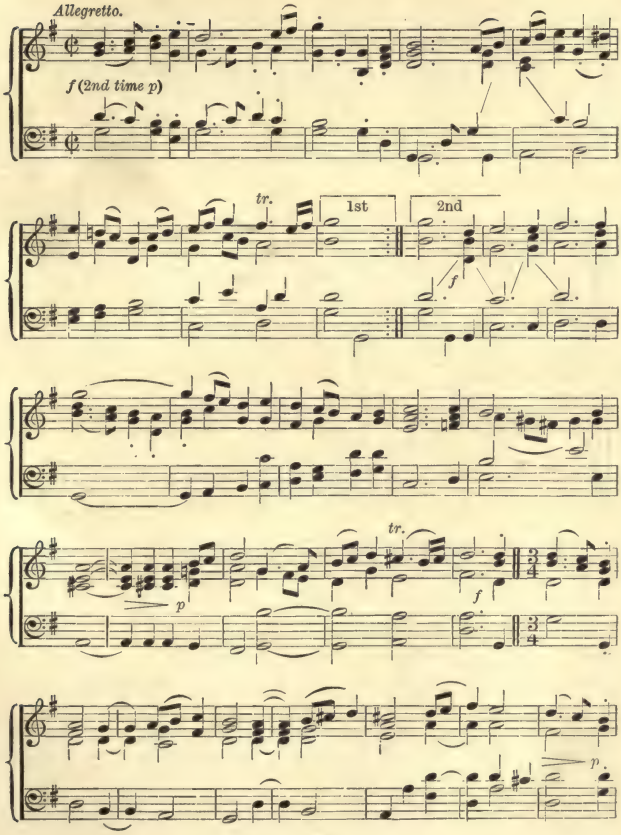
March ... 'Air' (*William Lawes*) ... Add. MS. 10445

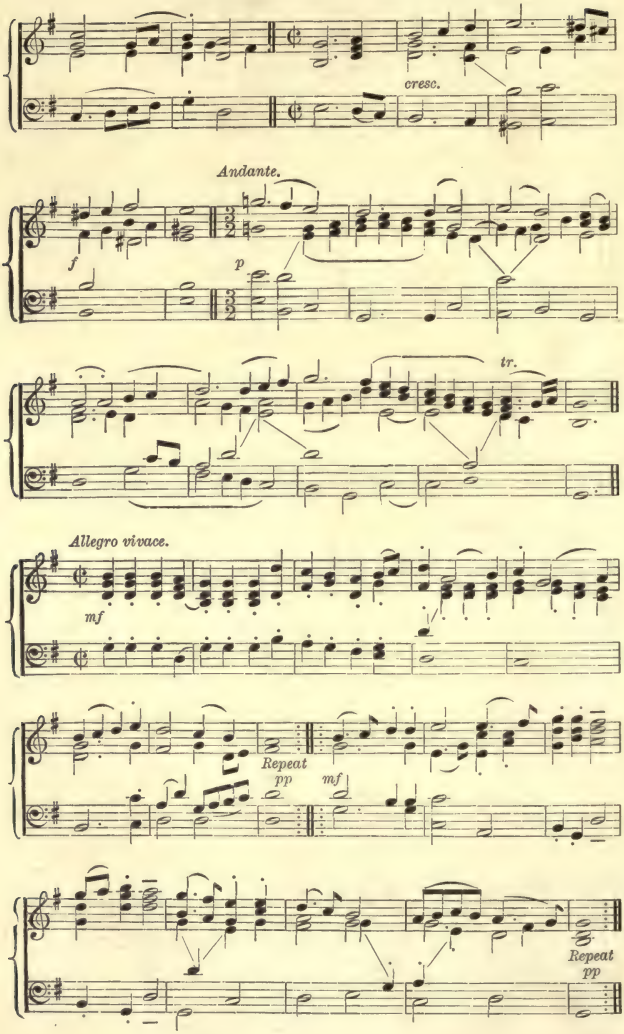
Court Dances ... 'Allmayne' and 'Corrant' (*Anon.*) ... Add. MS. 10337

MUSIC IN 'COMUS.'

SCENE I.

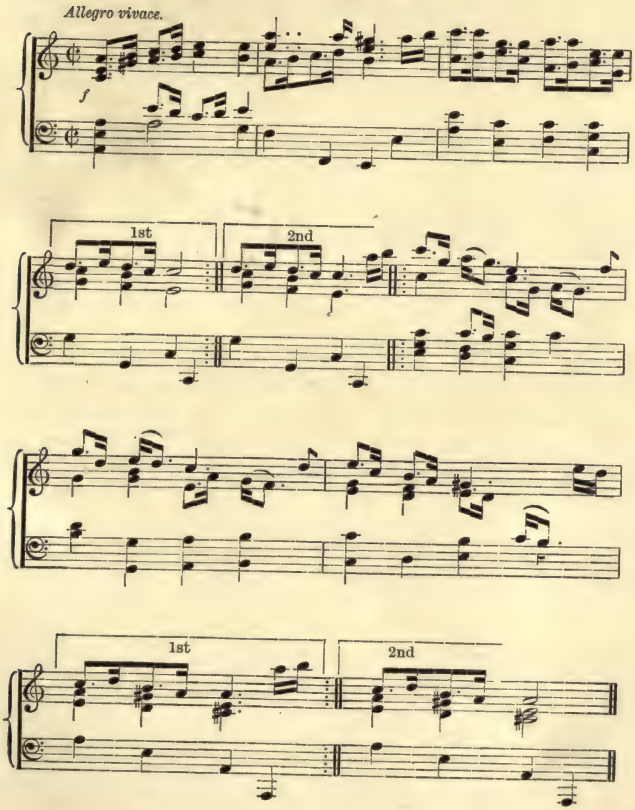
INTRODUCTION.




cresc.
Andante.
f
p
tr.
Allegro vivace.
mf
Repeat
pp
mf
Repeat
pp

THE MEASURE.

Come, knit hands, and beat the ground
In a light fantastic round.



THE LADY'S SONG.

Sweet E-cho, sweet-est Nymph,

Andante.

pp

that liv'st unseen . . . Within thy air - - y shell By slow . . .

. . . Meander's margent green, And in the vi - o -

- - let - embroider'd vale Where the love-lorn nightingale Nightly to

thee her sad . . . . song mourn - eth well:

poco animando e cres.

Canst thou not tell me of a gentle pair That lik - est thy Nar-cis - sus

are? O if thou have hid them in some

flow'r - y cave, Tell me but where, Sweet . . .

cres.

. . . Queen of Parley, Daugh - ter of the Sphere! So may'st thou be trans-

f

la-ted to the skies, And give resounding grace to all Heav'n's har - mo - nies!

SCENE II.

INTRODUCTION.

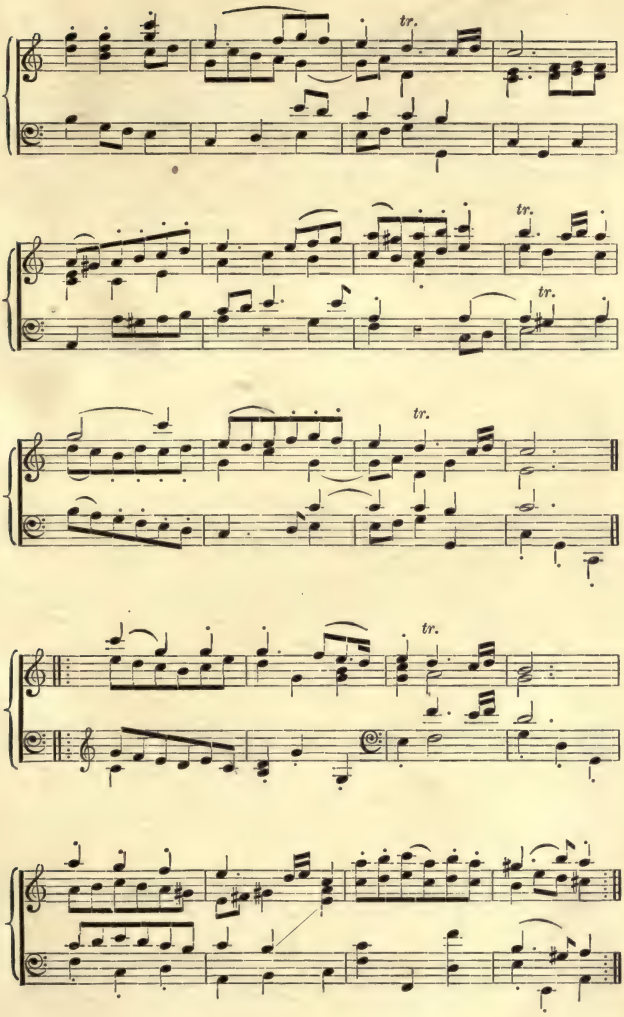
The scene changes to a stately palace, set out with all manner of deliciousness; soft music, tables spread with all dainties.

Allegretto.

p

tr.

tr.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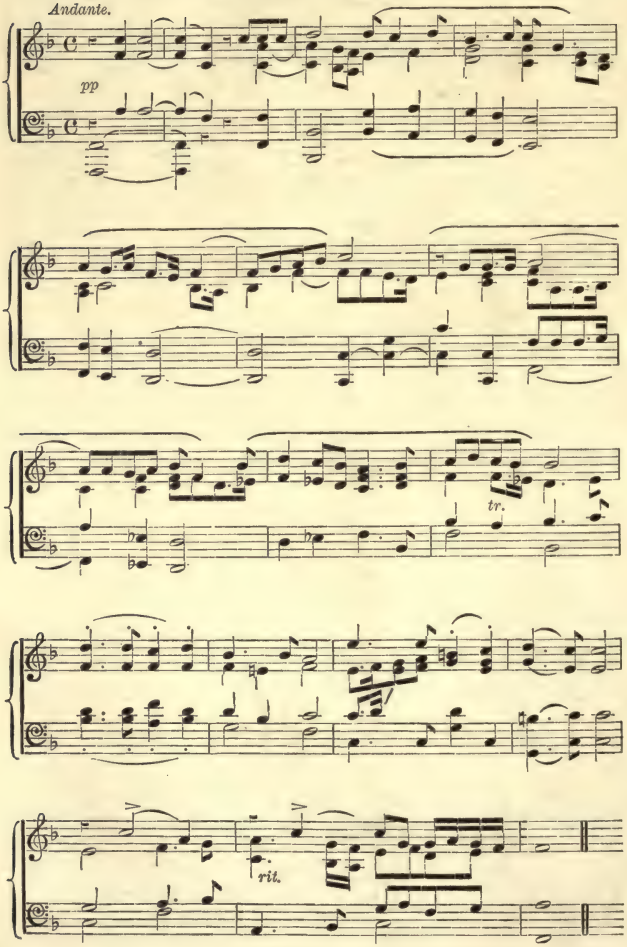
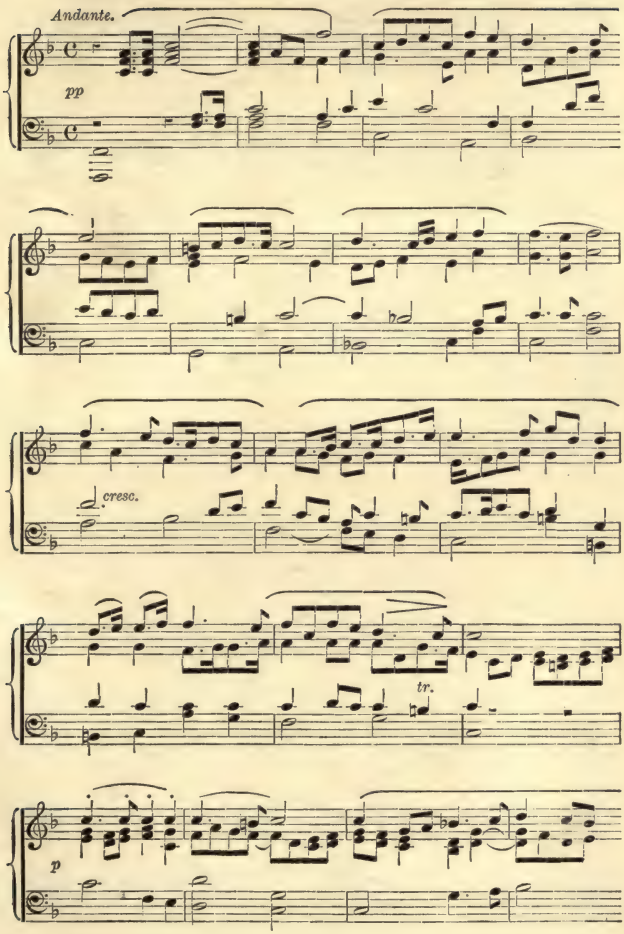
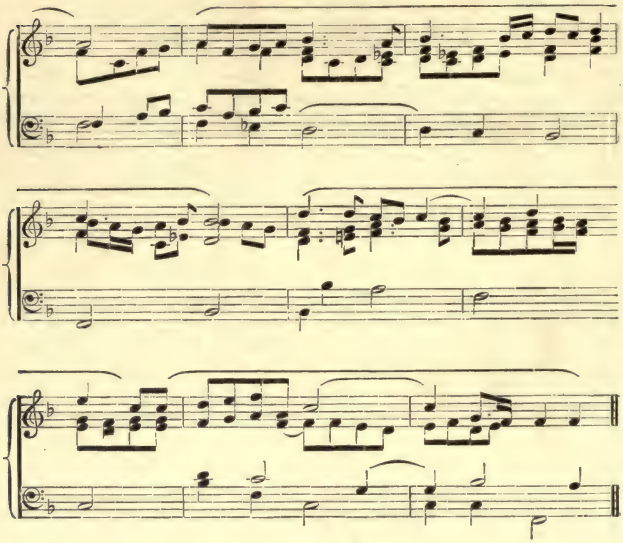
INVOCATION OF SABRINA.



APPEARANCE OF SABRINA.

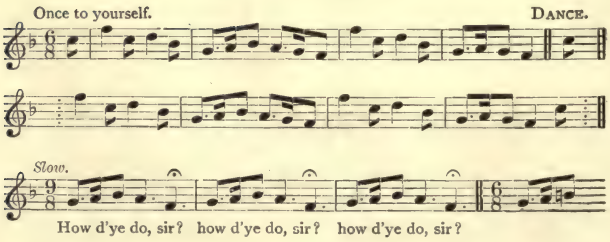


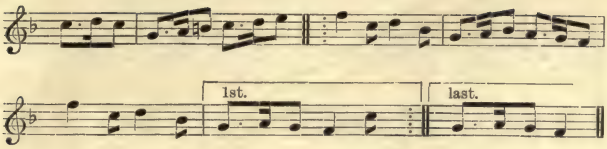


SCENE III.

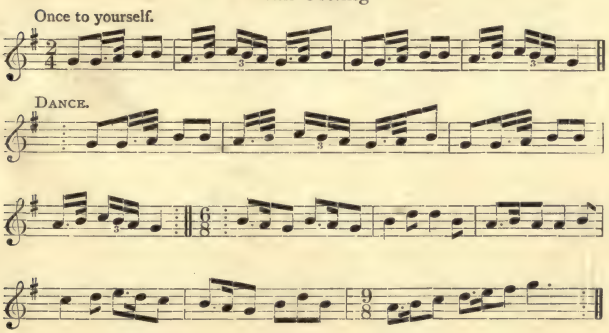
MORRIS DANCES.

"How d'ye do, sir?"

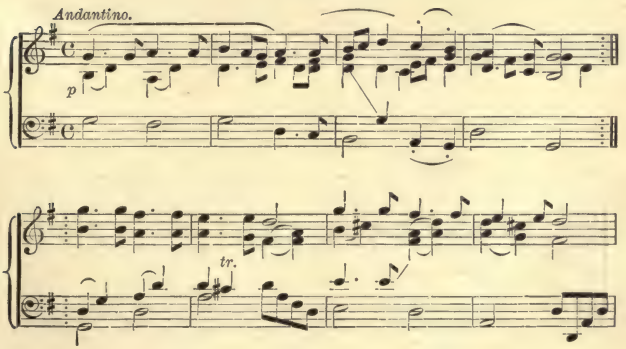


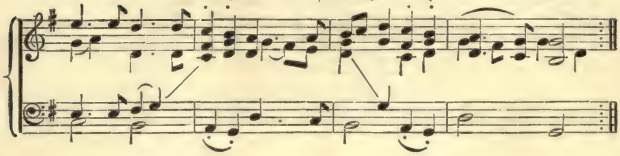


"Bean Setting."

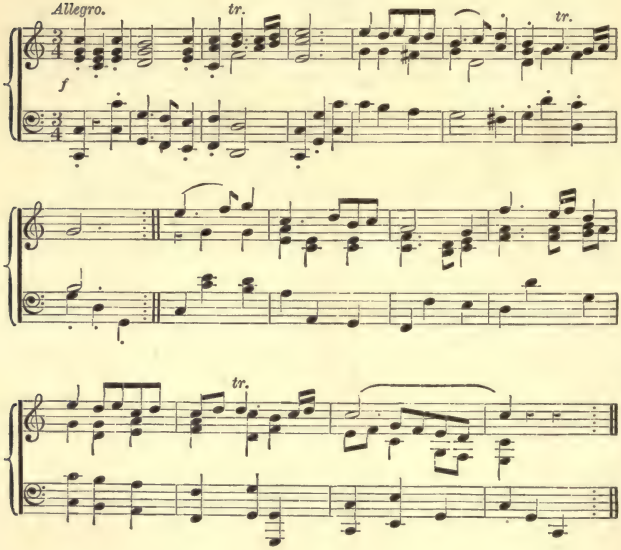


PAVAN.

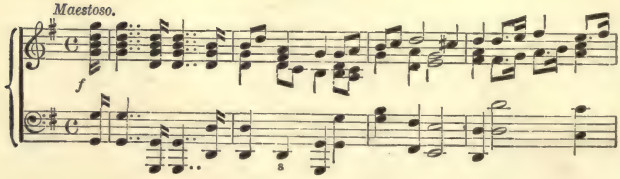


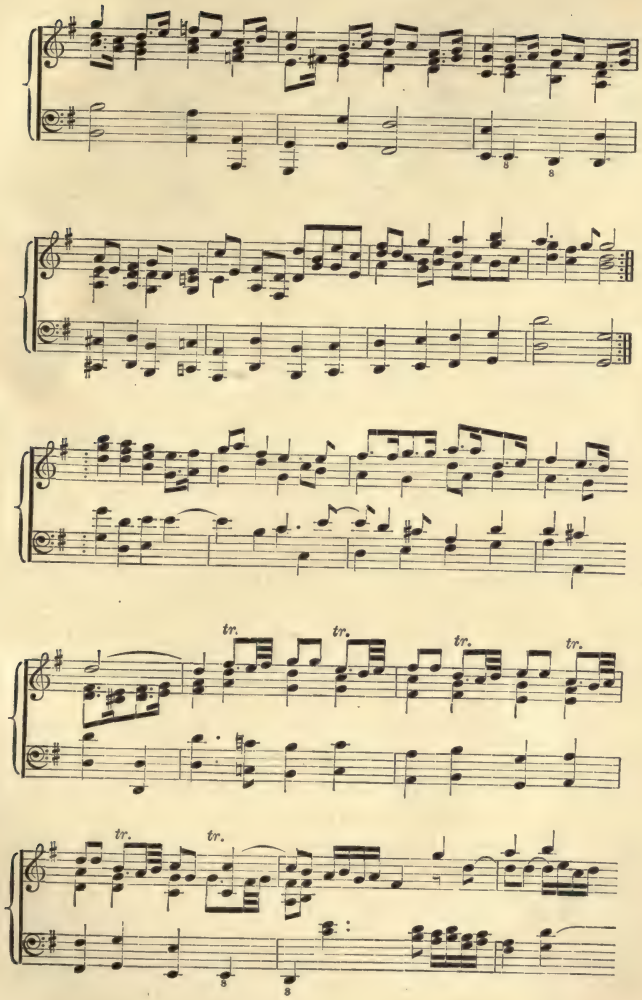


GALLIARD.



MARCH.

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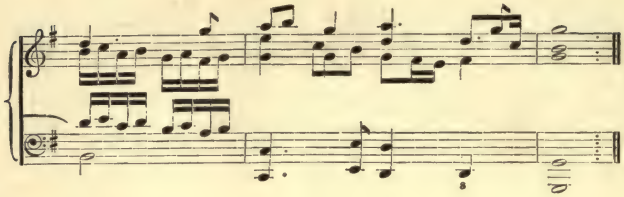
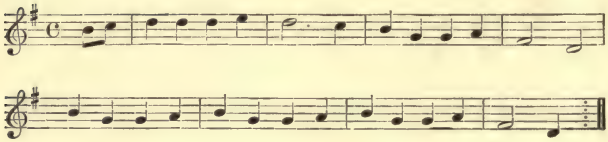


MORRIS OFF.



THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF JOHN MILTON[1].

WE have no prose from the pen of Shakespeare and no poetry from the pen of Gibbon. But Milton, like Goethe, is doubly immortal, both for his poetry and for his prose, albeit the poetry affords the bigger claim. On this occasion, however, it is proposed to pay testimony to the lesser claim, and to consider wherein lies the immortality of Milton's prose. The answer may be conjectured with certainty by lovers of Milton. It lies not in the grandeur of the diction apart from the greatness of the object, in the way that the poet, by the beauty of his poetry, may immortalise a flower, a face or a passing mood, but in the application of prose power to issues and opinions which are big with interest to-day, as they were big then, because they are big for all time.

Milton's greatest prose works are devoted to the exposition of his political philosophy; and the most prominent of them are four in number:—*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*; *The Ready and Easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth*—these two are purely political: *Areopagitica, a speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*; *A Treatise of Civil power in Ecclesiastical causes*—these two concern, in Miltonic diction, the 'main matters' of a political society.

They were all of them in a sense party pamphlets

[1] This article was in the first instance read as the opening paper of the 1908 session of the Christ's College Historical Society: and submitted afterwards by request to the *Magazine*.

written for the occasion, rather than pieces of a systematic exposition; and the occasion of their several publications is therefore of interest.

Areopagitica was published in 1644 after the issuing by the Long Parliament in June 1643 of the Ordinance for Printing, which restored much of the strictness of the old press censorship, that had grown up under the authority of the King's Council. *The Tenure of Kings* appeared in 1649 during the trial of Charles I, a few weeks before his execution: and its publication expressed the first unqualified adhesion of any man of mark to the coming Republic. The other two tractates were subsequent to Oliver Cromwell's death. In the *Treatise on Civil Power* (1659) Milton pleads boldly but simply for a freedom of toleration which is barely compatible with any form of Church Establishment. In the *Free Commonwealth* he advocates uncompromisingly a continuance of the Commonwealth on aristocratic lines in opposition to the swelling tide of Royalist reaction. The advocacy, however, was in vain; and its author narrowly escaped death, being first named and subsequently omitted—no one knows precisely why—in the restored king's list of exclusions from his amnesty.

The keynote of Milton's political philosophy is Liberty. Inasmuch as he considered that this Liberty was fatally threatened by the Stuart Dynasty and attained in good measure by the Commonwealth under Cromwell, he attacked the one and supported the other.

The main weapons in Milton's armoury are scriptural reference and the theory of the Social contract—a theory which had been already imported from the contracts of Roman civil law into political science and which was destined to be employed by the champions as well as by

the opponents of monarchy; for example, by Hobbes in his *Leviathan.*

The assault on monarchy, contained in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* places the origin of political society in a social contract subsequent to a natural state of original freedom. "No man," Milton writes, "who knows ought, can be so stupid as to deny that all men were originally born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were by privilege above all the created, born to command and not to obey, and that they lived so." But then came Adam's fall, and the growth of wrong and violence; to escape from which men "agreed by common league to bind each other from mutual injury, and joyntly to defend themselves against any that gave disturbance or opposition to such agreement. Hence came Cities, Townes and Commonwealths." The fulfilment of the object of this bond was entrusted to the Judges of the Old Testament, not that they should be "Lords and Maisters" but "Deputies and Commissioners." But the magistrates became corrupt, and Laws had to be invented to restrain them. Then the kings superseded the magistrates at the request of the people—and at this point of his survey Milton adroitly turns his opponents' position. The election of the people—they argued—was the act of God, and therefore interference with this was sacrilege on God's Anointed. But, retorts Milton, "if the people's Act in election be pleaded by a king as the Act of God and the most just title to enthrone him, why may not the people's Act of rejection be as well pleaded by the people as the Act of God and the most just title to depose him?"

Now this argument starts from a state of nature, whereof the original liberty is assumed to be good. Thomas Hobbes,

by assuming this primeval state to be bad, or, as he puts it "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short," reaches by the same road an exactly opposite conclusion. For by the social contract, he argues, mankind escaped from its horrid condition and placed itself under a king; therefore, any disobedience to the monarch will cause a return to this condition, which is by hypothesis more undesirable than the fullest form of tyranny. Hume's piercing criticisms and Maine's historical researches easily exploded the social contract theory, on whichever side it was employed, shewing respectively that the theory of a social contract was philosophically superfluous and historically false. But the arguments of those who used the idea, and of Milton among them, are not therefore worthless. Living before the age of historical research and in the age of biblical reference, these men applied the sequences of history to what were only sequences of thought: just as, according to some divines, the seven days Creation of Genesis is to be understood as an analysis of the elements of the Universe thrown into an historical form. On this view, Milton would be mentally arranging his conception of society somewhat after this fashion:—in social life there is the prime element of Liberty: governments cannot be trusted to preserve this: law, however, defends Liberty against them: therefore, for this Liberty men ought to fight as for their primeval birthright. Such a conception of the social scheme, however imperfect the medium of conveyance, is not empty of content.

Milton more correctly enframed his concepts, when he reviewed in later years in his *Ready and Easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth* the act of monarchical abolition, to which he was now urging. Justifying the conduct of the

Parliament after the flight of the Royalists to Oxford, he writes: "Yet they were left a sufficient Number to act in Parlament, therefore not bound by preceding Parlaments, but by the Law of Nature only, which is the only Law of Laws truly and properly to all Mankind fundamental: the beginning and the end of all Government: to which no Parlament or People that will thoroughly reform, but may and must have recourse, as they had and must yet have in church reformation (if they thoroughly intend it) to Evangelic rules." In other words, a nation thrown back upon itself for the preservation of that which it feels to give value to its nationality, must appeal to ultimates, to the right that is at the back of the statutes and the laws and the assemblies that exist to express it in normal times, must seek the spirit as against the letter, Christ as against creeds and councils. Bulgaria declares her freedom; and she may have right. But an Austrian proclamation does not make Austria the champion of liberty.

The Stuart dynasty being the form of government of which Milton desired to be rid, what was the government in his Free Commonwealth which he wished to see established; which is to ask, how could freedom best be attained?

It had been Milton's final weapon in support of the overthrow of autocracy that submission to it "were a kind of treason against the dignity of mankind to affirm." Will this, one asks in anticipation, be followed by a Declaration of the Rights of Man—equal property, manhood suffrage and the like, on the lines of Rousseau and the French Revolution? Far from it. Milton turns out to be almost an excessive aristocrat. In his Free Commonwealth he would have as the supreme governing body a self-per-

petuating council chosen for life; and as organs of provincial administration, the electors of the former, composed of the ablest knights and burgesses of the counties. What of the sovereign people? With regard to it he speaks of "not committing all (at election time) to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude"; and elsewhere he urges the necessity to condemn the People "for an untaught and irreligious and gadding rout." The Majority with its awful *M* has no lordship over him, "judging"—as he says—"that most voices ought not always to prevail where main matters are in question": and again, "better for a few to compell the majority to maintain their Liberty than that the latter for the pleasure of their baseness, compell a less most injuriously to be their own fellow slaves." That is to say, it is not the good luck of freemen to find, but their task to "*make* the People fittest to choose and the chosen fittest to govern."

In searching for the explanation of Milton's aristocratic attitude one recurs to the curious circumstance that political thinkers of an elaborately constructive frame of mind—in particular, the constructors of political Utopias, from Plato, Thomas More, Campanella right down to Mr H. G. Wells—have generally been led to create an aristocracy for the working of their ideal polity. All these men seem to feel an implicit insult to their best mental creation in the introduction of the untrained masses to a work which demands art in the workers of it by the same token that it has required art in themselves who have created it. And being architects of perfection, they are too impatient to contemplate the slow and scarred growth of a genuine social democracy, or to entertain the thought of those failures which in practice must precede success. With these men,

and for much their reasons, Milton takes his stand. Dignified men, free men I want,—he seems to say—but I will not begin by putting undignified slavish natures in the temple of my greatest aspiration.

From the general principles of Milton's political philosophy the ways open out to the concrete issues to which this philosophy led him: and Milton himself points the route. "The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty." Religious toleration, first, and civil freedom second,—civil freedom in its most significant aspect of freedom of written word—these are the two greatest manifestations of the liberty of man.

Religious toleration receives its eloquent plea in the *Treatise of Civil power in Ecclesiastical Causes*; and it is perhaps worth while noticing at the outset a strange blunder in Dr Dunning's otherwise able *History of Political Theories, From Luther to Montesquieu.* "The plea of Milton," he submits, "is that of Roger Williams, with the emphasis, however, on the argument from utility rather than on the injunctions or teaching of the Scriptures." On the contrary, Milton opens his treatise with the words "What I argue shall be drawn from Scripture only"; and at the end he presents his conclusion "on these four scriptural reasons, as on a firm square." But unlike the schoolmen—and this perhaps is the excuse for Dr Dunning's unhappy remark—Milton's use of Scripture is sensible. It is logic threading its way through well-chosen texts rather than the orthodox distortion and strained allusion.

Milton's plea for complete religious toleration was directed upon the obviously vulnerable point in the armour of established Protestantism. You and I, he argues,—he was addressing in particular the Presbyterians of the Solemn

Covenant—are both of us Protestants; and in virtue of our Protestantism, "we believe the Scripture, not for the churche's saying, but for its own as the word of God." Consequently, there can be no half-way house in the countries of the Reformation, no stopping place on the inclined plane towards the absolute independence of the individual conscience. "The more," he goes on, "a man professes to be a true Protestant, the more he has to answer for his persecution than a true Papist." "Christ exercised his power spiritually": and in comparison with His example, "how ineffectual and weak is outward force with all her boisterous tooles, to the shame of those Christians, and especially of those churchmen, who to the exercising of church discipline never cease calling upon the civil power to interpose his fleshlie force."

But for all the logical completeness of his argument, Milton was unable to support it by appeal to the practice of Continental reformers, as doubtless he would have liked to do. For consider the history of the growth of religious toleration, both of that part of it which was already accomplished in Milton's day, and of the later chapters which completed it. It is the record, not of a flame-light suddenly flashed forth, but of a small spark growing painfully to brightness. Toleration, so far from being generously conceded to others by the first reformers, was extended with the greatest reluctance to dissentients within the reformed folds. Luther defied Rome from the doors of Wittenberg church, and denounced Zwingli because he followed, not Luther, but Luther's example. Calvin, the Huguenot, escaped from the tyranny of Catholic France, hounded down Servetus and other independent thinkers, who profaned his small realm of Geneva. The Elizabethan Puritans

revolted against Anglican Conformity in the hope of driving Papacy into the seas. Locke pleaded for religious toleration on the ground that the civil power has no right of interference between a man and his God, but excluded those who have not a God sufficiently orthodox to hold them to their civil contracts. Burke thundered majestically for freedom for Roman Catholics, but only a few sentences further on called down the vengeance of Government upon those "impious atheists," whose extermination was the rightful duty of the powers of the law. Voltaire, hardly a Christian, railed against Christian intolerance, but thought that Jews and Jesuits, as fanatics, ought to be suppressed. Only in the last half-century has the complete freedom of the conscience been officially proclaimed in England. The position now would seem to be this. The State, recognising the extreme liability of human judgment to err in cases where opinions only without evidence are concerned, does not interfere on mere suspicion, but only punishes open illegality or direct and proved incentment to it. A definite border line is thus granted to religious freedom, but the exact tracing of the border, nevertheless, does not effect itself automatically. When exactly is a religion or opinion so immoral as to imperil the civil order? In the case of the United States, is Mormonism, whose disciples, outside their hymeneal peculiarities, appear to be upright and law-abiding citizens? What ought to be our attitude, if Mohammedanism threatened to convert a large portion of England? And again, is there any escape from the present experience of France, whose government set out to destroy the intolerance of Catholicism, and is now deemed by many to be itself intolerant towards moderate Catholicism? All this seems to suggest, that

while the body of toleration is increasing and mankind is becoming more convinced of its value, cases might still arise, in which the serious liberal dare not lightheartedly commend the extension of religious toleration right up to the limit which logic and principle assign.

Milton too has his limit; and, as might have been surmised, it is Papacy—on the ground which his successors also took that it (Catholicism) "extirpates all religious and civil supremacies." Milton's place in the history of religious toleration seems to be a point at which opinion definitely made progress. For in the sentence following his proviso, he says: "Nevertheless, if they ought not to be tolerated, yet it is for just reason of State more than of religion; which they who force, though professing to be protestants, deserve as little to be tolerated themselves, being no less guilty of poperie in the most popish point." Was not Milton among the first to hint at what was an immense concession in his time and the adopted standpoint of his successors:—tolerate any religion, unless and until its toleration is a civil danger?

The remaining treatise, the *Areopagitica*, is also the most famous. But because of its fame, it requires briefer consideration. For Professor Masson pointedly remarks: "Knowing his other prose-writings, I have sometimes been angry at this choice of one of his pamphlets by which to recollect him as an English prose-writer. I have ascribed it to our cowardly habit of taking delight only in what we already agree with, of liking to read only what we already think, or have been schooled into considering glorious, axiomatic and British."

This stricture is not altogether unjust. For could Milton, one asks oneself, have felt the yellow press worthy

of immortal words like the following? "I cannot praise," he writes in *Areopagitica*, "a fugitive or cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for, notwithstanding dust and heat." Are men's convictions so weak "that the whiffe of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and Christian walking"? "Let Truth and Falsehood grapple; who ever heard of Truth put to the worse in a free and open fight?" We moderns know what a free press is: and from it we seem to learn that there may be licence, which can desecrate virtue, odours which can taint honour, falsehood which can crush out pieces of the truth. Did Milton realize and weigh this danger? For only then can his philosophy of Liberty invoke allegiance to-day.

As I think, he did. Milton's liberty is not the destroying negative of licence, but a positive enthusiasm for the chance to build. This attitude is the attitude of his Master in religion, which he himself cites: "There is none who doth a powerful work in My name and can likely speak ill of Me." Milton is at once a supreme champion of toleration and a supreme enthusiast for the triumph of Good and Truth; and because at once tolerant and enthusiastic, his liberty is positive. "A little generous prudence," he writes, "a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligences to join and unite into one generall and brotherly search after Truth." Conceivably, indifference might dress in similar language a subtle plea to be let alone in untruth and vice. It is only the enthusiasm for positive ideals, re-echoing throughout Milton's works, which rules this interpretation out of court. Of itself freedom is little worth. It is valuable in

proportion as it is accompanied by a strong faith that the good and true will prevail; for this faith is the guarantee that the holder for his part is trying to make it prevail.

Most orations end in frenzy: most dramas in limelight: most novels in wedding-bells. I venture to end with Milton's own quiet close to his great religious plea. "Pomp and ostentation of reading," he ends, "is admir'd among the vulgar: but doubtless in matters of religion he is learnedest who is planest. The brevetie I use, not exceeding a small manual, will not therfore, I suppose, be thought the less considerable, unless with them perhaps who think that great books only can determin great matters. I rather chose the common rule, not to make much ado where less may serve. Which in controversies and those especially of religion, would make them less tedious, and by consequence read ofter, by many more, and with more benefit."

C. R. Fay.

A NOTE ON FORESTHILL (OXON.).

AMONGST the most treasured of the many "choice" views of pre-Reformation churches in the writer's possession is that of Foresthill (Oxon.), a small Trans-Norman building, placed on the very brow of a hill, with a curious bell gable, which is visible from a considerable distance.

It was here, undoubtedly, Milton was married to his first wife Mary, daughter of Richard Powell, as, though it is not recorded in the Church Register, the position of the family and their Church principles precluded the notion of any other place and the Poet, moreover, during the brief but bitter estrangement which followed, in all that he wrote, never questioned the regularity of his marriage.

To the kindness of the late Vicar of Foresthill (the Rev. E. Greaves) I am indebted for the following, as bearing upon the fact of there being no entry of the marriage in the Register Book:—

"Just before that date [1643] there is evidence of great carelessness. Pages 12 and 13 of the original suggest that memoranda of the years 1637—40 have been hastily copied up; and there follows a page and a half blank. Pages 15, 17, 19 are copied up, alternate pages being blank. On page 21, Oct. 19, 1641, an even, scholarly hand commences a record of carefully margined entries, apparently with occasional failure to make out a word. The last entry in this hand is Mar. 31, 1661. It is the writing of Luke Procter, 'Clericus,' who baptised six and buried four of his own children at Foresthill between 1645 and 1660. In 1642, he registers three christenings, two burials and one marriage. In 1643, four children are christened (each in the name of William), and there are six burials. A marriage identical with the one registered under the preceding year is entered and then scratched out, between the Christenings and Burials of 1643. Evidently, while he did not altogether overlook possible marriages for that year, the memorandum of Milton's marriage was not among those which Luke Procter received to copy up when he became parson of Foresthill. Still as he was parish priest so soon aferwards

he must have heard of the marriage and its consequences. Did he not notice the omission, or did he dismiss it from his mind as a memory into which it was better not to make enquiries, since the subject was a sore one in the Royalist household of the Manor?"

Although the house of the Powells has long since been pulled down, owing to the fact that it was visited by so many people from Oxford, and hence became a nuisance to the occupier, a fine gateway still remains.

> "There are thoughts more touching than those which rise
> From pride's departed splendour;
> And thine is connected with countless ties,
> Which waken ideas more tender."

Another item of interest which attaches itself to Forest-hill is that Mickle, the translator of Camoens, resided here, and is buried in the churchyard without any memorial.

EUGARPS.

THE MILTON EXHIBITION.

> "Lightning may shrivel the laurel of Caesar
> but mine should not wither."

THE modern critic was right in challenging Bacon's belief that the great masterpieces of the world's literature have foundered in the stream of Time, and that what the world is content to admire are but pale reflexes of vanished greatness. More faith than the essayist felt

must be placed in that critical faculty of mankind which may be trusted eventually to conserve all that is best. A *Paradise Lost* may pass over the heads of its immediate contemporaries but at last it comes into its own. The golden argosies all find safe haven.

The idea of holding an exhibition of Miltoniana here in the tercentenary year of the poet's birth originated with Mr Shipley; it was especially due to his energy that the idea became a reality. It was he who procured the services of Dr Williamson and Mr Charles Sayle. It is fitting that we should record in the pages of our College Magazine the great debt which we owe to these gentlemen—a debt the greater, as the Master has said, since we cannot claim them as members of our body. Without their aid what resource should we have had to inform our unacquainted feet in the blind mazes of Faithorne drawings and Richardson etchings, of the Smectymnuus controversy and First Edition title-pages? The catalogue was their joint production. To those who know the catalogue this article must necessarily seem a work of supererogation.

Of the portraits exhibited, that by Cornelis Janssen possessed an especial interest: for it was only while the exhibition was being arranged that the whereabouts of this picture again became generally known after the lapse of many years. The portrait shows Milton at the age of ten, and is well described as that of a grave intelligent Puritan boy. Opposite to this hung the copy of the original Onslow picture from Nuneham. We are told that Mr Milton possessed a picture of him when a "Cambridge schollar," and the Onslow portrait was undoubtedly the one meant. It may not be out of place to mention that the picture in the Hall bears, in certain features, a distinct resemblance to this

last painting. A long period of forty years follows with no certain portrait of Milton until the Faithorne drawings of 1670. But it would seem that in the Woodcock miniature lately acquired by Dr Williamson a portrait of him at the age of about forty-eight is preserved. The assertion that this is undoubtedly a miniature of middle seventeenth century work, and the special history which it has, offer, respectively, important internal and external evidence for its authenticity. The Bayfordbury drawing by Faithorne was also exhibited. It would have been instructive to have compared this drawing with the Hobart picture; other artists have been mentioned in connection with the Bayfordbury drawing: but the question concerns not merely the pictures but prints ultimately derived from them, and has been discussed at length in the Catalogue by Dr Williamson, who maintains that both the drawings are by Faithorne and shows why they have been wrongly attributed to other artists.

Of the large collection of engravings lent by Dr Williamson there were, apart from the fictitious prints, three broad groups. Those ultimately derived from Faithorne's work have already been mentioned. From the Janssen portrait noticeable works were Cipriani's etching and the charming line engraving by Radclyffe which is familiar to readers of Masson. Engravings from the Onslow portrait were of varied quality. Particularly pleasing were those by Vertue (38 in the catalogue) and W. N. Gardiner (50), while reference must be made to an old copy of Houbraken's engraving (42). The plate was probably made in Holland from a miniature copied from the Onslow portrait. Mr Shipley has had the miniature in his possession for some time past: more lately he has acquired the plate together with several

others. Outside these groups stand the curious little print from the *Gentleman's Magazine* (37), and the interesting Marshall engraving made for the 1645 edition of the poems. One might suppose that Milton wrote the bad Greek verses beneath in emulation of the bad likeness. Two original drawings by Vertue must also be mentioned.

Before passing to the books it should be mentioned that the manuscript of the Minor Poems was lent us by Trinity College, the Bridgwater Manuscript of *Comus* by the Earl of Ellesmere, and *Lycidas*, with manuscript corrections in Milton's handwriting, by the University Library. Henry Lawes' manuscript of music is dealt with elsewhere in this magazine. The books started with Andreini's *L'Adamo* which is said to have influenced Milton in writing *Paradise Lost*: the second folio of Shakespeare showed him for the first time in print:

> What need my Shakespeare for his honoured bones
> The labour of an age in piled stones?

The rare volume Edwardi King Justa was lent by Trinity, and one passed by the prose works of 1641–4, including the treatises *Of Reformation*, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, *Reason of Church Government*, the long Smectymnuus controversy, the pamphlets on Divorce, and the first edition of *Areopagitica*, until a rare treasure from our own Library arrested attention—the *Poems*, *English and Latin* of 1645, with the frontispiece by Marshall.

The horror felt at the execution of Charles I in 1649 found expression in *Eikon Basilike*, of which the late Mark Pattison notes that forty-seven editions were necessary to meet the demand of a population of eight millions. To answer this Milton, his ready pen ever at the Council's

command, wrote *Eikonoklastes*, "a reply worse than tedious ...in a tone of rude railing and insolent swagger, which would have been always unbecoming, but which at this moment was grossly indecent." The *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, and Salmasius' *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I* were also on view. The answer to this last came in 1651 also "by command," and to this Salmasius had "no difficulty in turning off three hundred pages of fluent Latin." But it was not published until 1660, to which year belongs the proclamation of August 13th directed against the sale of Milton's books. As we were able to show a photograph of State A with misprints, as well as an original copy of State B, this received much attention from our visitors. The sermon by M. Griffith on the *Fear of God*, Milton's *Brief Notes on the Sermon*, and R. L'Estrange's reply to Milton, *No Blind Guides*, all belong to this year, and were all on view from the University Library. The rarity of the original sermon may be judged from the fact that there is no copy in the British Museum. The first edition of *Paradise Lost* gave us an opportunity of displaying our six variants of the title-page. With the possible exception of the eleventh all the editions up to the fifteenth, the last numbered edition, were exhibited. The first edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, the rare tract *Of true Religion*, John Locke's copy of the *Complete Prose Works of* 1698, and the Bentley controversy of 1732 were among other interesting volumes on view. Bentley's edition, with William Cowper's autograph, has been kindly presented to the Library by J. W. Clark, Esq. Mention must also be made of Dr Johnson's presentation copy of the *Lives of the Poets* to Frances Burney, of *Manesius' Sarcotis* and of various translations which included versions of Milton in French,

German, Italian, Russian, Dutch, Danish, Armenian and Hebrew blank verse.

That the exhibition created such widespread interest and attracted so many distinguished visitors was in itself gratifying. Even more gratifying is the reflection that within the College walls due honour has been done to the greatness of the past. To eulogize great men is proper and dignified, even though the most passionate memorial seems cold in the shadow of their fame. The danger is that men other than the great may be thought worthy, and the genuine character of an honour which should be jealously guarded be impaired. None will deny that two men, Shakespeare and Milton, stand in a class by themselves in the honourable roll of English men of letters. The greatest memorials they can ever have are temples not made by hand but raised by themselves on polished pillars of strong verse to their own undying memory. It has been said of Milton that "he did what could only be done once in the history of any nation, in the progress of any literature—he attained perfection." All others must emulate, none could be his peer:

> Hither, as to their fountain, other stars
> Returning, in their urns draw golden light.

S. W. G.

OBITUARY NOTES.

THE College suffered a heavy loss by the death on July 19 of Dr Samuel Cheetham, who was a Fellow of the College from 1850 to 1866, and was elected an Honorary Fellow in 1883. He was educated at Oakham by a distinguished school-master of this College, Dr John Doncaster: entered Christ's in 1846: and was 6th Senior Optime and 8th Classic in 1850. Shortly after his election to a Fellowship he untertook the post of Vice-Principal of the Collegiate Institute at Liverpool, but returned to Cambridge for college work in 1853. The writer recalls with pleasure his interesting and scholarly lectures. He resided only five years. In 1858 he became curate of Hitchin under Canon Hensley, and in 1861 Vice-Principal of the Theological College, Chichester, of which Dr Swainson, the future Master of Christ's, was Principal. After two years he became Professor of Pastoral Theology at King's College, London; there he worked most successfully for 19 years till 1882—holding for nearly the same period the Chaplaincy of Dulwich College. Bishop Thorold appointed him Archdeacon of Southwark in 1879—a post which in 1882 he exchanged for the Archdeaconry of Rochester; and that city became his home (as Canon) in 1883, there he died after twenty-five years' active work, respected and loved by all. He married in 1866, forfeiting his fellowship; his wife died in 1876. He married again in 1896, and his second wife survives him. His visits to Cambridge, once frequent, became rare as years and infirmity pressed upon him: but he was present at the Quatercentenary Commemoration in 1905. Some years earlier he contributed to the *Magazine* interesting reminiscences of the College to which he was sincerely attached.

He was an indefatigable worker. The piece which probably gave him the greatest trouble was his share in editing (with Dr William Smith) the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*—a work of great value when it appeared, and not yet superseded. But his chief interest was in history: and he projected nearly 50 years ago a History of the Christian Church, of moderate size, yet sufficient for the ordinary student: this task he took up on the death of his friend Charles Hardwick, who had already written the history of the Church in the Middle

Ages, and of the Reformation. Dr Cheetham finished his *History of the First Six Centuries* in 1894: he produced a *Sketch of Mediæval Church History* in 1899. The concluding volume, written under great difficulties, the *History since the Reformation*, saw the light only in 1907, the year before his death. He was Hulsean Lecturer in 1896, and he published his lectures in the same year as *The Mysteries, Pagan and Christian.* He was one of the many who attempted a translation of the well-known *Hymn* of Cleanthes into English verse: and he did it scholarly and well.

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The Rev. W. H. Lee, M.A., a former Scholar of the College, was a native of Leicester, and, like Dr Cheetham, was educated at Oakham, took his degree from the Classical Tripos (class 3) in 1859, and was in the Second Class of the Theological Classes (the older and simpler form of the Tripos). He was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1861, and was curate of St Mark, Old Street, for three years. Afterwards he held several curacies in the Peterborough diocese. He was Vicar of Towcester, 1874–86: in which year he accepted the rectory of Wymondham, near Oakham, which he held for 22 years. He died there on June 23.

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Canon George Goodman, B.A. 1844, M.A. 1847, was one of the oldest members of the College. He was a Scholar, and 28th Wrangler. Ordained at Chester, 1845, he held curacies at Birkenhead and at St Bride, Fleet Street, London, till 1853. He then went to Australia, which was to be his home for 55 years. He was a strenuous worker under Bishop Perry, whose examining chaplain he was, and also under that Bishop's three successors. He was incumbent of Christ Church, Geelong, 1855—1906; Rural Dean of Geelong, 1877; Theological Lecturer at Trinity College, 1879—1899; Canon of Melbourne, 1879. He died at Geelong, 24 June, 1908, aged 87. The tribute to his character and to his work, called forth by his death, was very remarkable.

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The Rev. Henry J. B. Armstrong was born in London and educated at Bedford. He was a Tancred Divinity Student, and came into residence in 1867: he took a third class in the Classical Tripos, 1871.

After teaching some years at Islington Proprietary School, he was ordained in 1874; was curate for three years at St Mary's, Sheffield, then at St Andrew's, Eccles, of which he was appointed Vicar in 1879. It is a large parish which he administered successfully for 19 years, till in 1896 he became Rector of St John's, Broughton, Manchester: this he held till his death, which came suddenly after six days' illness, 7 Oct. 1908.

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The Rev. William Beatson Dunning, M.A., came from Rugby to Christ's in 1856: he was 12th Junior Optime in 1860. Ordained in 1861 by the Bishop of Lincoln, he was Curate first of Tydd St Mary, then of Wyberton, near Boston. From 1871 to 1873 he was Lecturer at Boston Church. Then he removed to Suffolk, where from 1873 to 1881 he was Rector of Mickfield, a small village near Stowmarket. Then he returned to Wyberton as Rector: and there he spent the rest of his uneventful life. After some months of failing strength, he died there, 7 July, 1908, aged 70.

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The Rev. Haygarth Taylor Baines, M.A., though born in Cambridge, was of a family long settled in Furness Fells, Lancashire: his father, Haygarth, held the little living of Satterthwaite, between Windermere and Coniston. He was educated at Sedbergh; was B.A. (34th Junior Optime) 1847. During 1847–50 he was Curate of Rusland, close to his home. He was appointed in 1851 Headmaster of the Grammar School, Prescot, near St Helens, in the south of Lancashire. In 1862 he returned to his own county as Headmaster of Hawkshead School: this he held for twenty years, and from it he sent to Christ's his son, Thomas Haygarth, now Vicar of Brathay, near Ambleside. He resigned the Headmastership in 1882, but continued to reside at Hawkshead, removing later to Sawrey, between Hawkshead and Windermere, where he died this autumn, aged 85.

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Alan Eskrigge Carruthers, who joined the College in 1885, has recently died in the prime of an active life. His brother, William, who belonged to the same year, died the year after graduating as B.A. Alan was B.A. 1888, M.A. 1892, M.B. and B.C. 1893. He joined

St Bartholomew's, and became M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. in 1890: held the D.P.H. He was a member of the Abernethy Society. He was Medical Officer (honorary) of the Cottage Hospital, St Peter Port, Assistant House Surgeon of the Sussex County Hospital, Brighton, afterwards House Surgeon of the Dover Hospital.

COLLEGE NOTES AND NEWS.

(*The Editor requests that old members of the College will send him news of appointments, publications, or other matters of interest relating to themselves or other Christ's men, for insertion among these notes.*)

Percy Gardner, Litt.D., Honorary Fellow of the College and Professor of Archæology at Oxford University, has been elected Corresponding Member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences.

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Professor Skeat has kindly consented to deliver a Lecture to members of the College on JOHN MILTON, at 8.30 p.m. on Thursday, November 26, in the College Hall. Tea and coffee will be served in the Combination Room, and in Mr Greaves' room, after the Lecture.

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The President of Queens' College has been appointed Chairman of the Board of Examiners for the Natural Sciences Tripos, 1909.

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Mr Shipley has been appointed Reader in Zoology.

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Mr R. P. Lobb (B.A. 1895) has been appointed Colonial Secretary of the Bermudas or Somers Islands.

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Mr A. E. Oldham (B.A. 1887) has been appointed Consul of Servia at Melbourne.

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Harinath Dé (B.A. 1900) has been appointed Librarian of the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

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Dr H. P. Allen, M.A. (B.A. 1895), organist of New College, Oxford, has been elected to a Fellowship in that College.

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In connection with the Pan-Anglican Conference the degree of D.D. was conferred by Oxford University on the Archbishop of Toronto, the Most Rev. Arthur Sweatman, D.D. (B.A. 1859), and on the Right Rev. F. H. Chase, D.D., Bishop of Ely (B.A. 1876).

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Trinity College, Dublin, has conferred the degree of Doctor of Science on Mr F. Darwin, Honorary Fellow of the College, this year's President of the British Association (B.A. 1870): and the degree of Doctor of Literature on the Rt. Rev. E. C. Butler, M.A. (B.A. 1898), Abbot of Downside, in recognition of his learned researches in monastic history: J. W. Horrocks (1903) has received the degree of D.Litt. from London University for a thesis entitled "Machiavelli in Tudor political opinion and discussion."

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Prof. Gollancz, Litt.D. (B.A. 1887), has been appointed Dean of Faculty of Arts for London University, 1908–10.

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The Rev. H. H. Williams, M.A., has been appointed a University Extension Lecturer under the Cambridge Local Lectures Syndicate, and will give a course of lectures in Devonshire next term on the English Literature of the 18th and 19th centuries.

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H. E. G. Paget (B.A. 1908) and R. W. Leach (B.A. 1906) have been nominated as University candidates for commissions in the Army: the former has been gazetted 2nd Lieutenant in the Indian Army: the latter in the Suffolk regiment.

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O. C. Gardiner (B.A. 1906) has received an appointment in the Ordnance Factory, Woolwich.

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J. G. Drummond (B.A. 1906) has received an appointment in the I. C. S. and has sailed for India: G. L. Ham (B.A. 1907) has been appointed to an Eastern Cadetship in the Malay States, and has already sailed.

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W. E. Barber (B.A. 1906) has been appointed Secretary to the Editor of the *Morning Post.*

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Mr Campbell has been elected Secretary of the Special Board for Classics.

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At the conference of Managers of Homes for Working Boys held by the Children's Aid Society on November the 11th, the Rev. W. H. H. Elliott, M.A. (B.A. 1904), opened a discussion on the subject of honorary superintendence of homes, and also read a paper on Apprenticeship and Employment.

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The Very Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., F.B.A., Dean of Westminster (B.A. 1881), has been elected a member of the Council of the British Academy.

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The Rev. P. M. Barnard, B.D., has been appointed one of the examiners for the Carus Greek Testament Prizes.

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In the Civil Services Examination C. F. Wood (B.A. 1906) was 37th in the list of successful candidates, and G. L. Ham (B.A. 1907) 81st. C. F. Wood was awarded the Wren Prize for the candidate in the College placed highest in this examination.

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Mr Shipley has been appointed Reader in Zoology in the University: Dr Gollancz and Mr A. J. Wyatt have been appointed examiners for the M.A. Degree in the University of Calcutta: Mr Wyatt has also been appointed Director of Studies in Medieval and Modern Languages at Sidney Sussex College and for the non-collegiate students.

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The Milton celebration has brought to the College from several generous donors some very interesting and valuable additions to our collection of Miltoniana: the following is a list:

From Mr Shipley a collection of about seventy engraved portraits of Milton, a case of plaster casts of medallion portraits, two scallop-shaped china fruit-plates, believed to be those mentioned in Mrs Milton's inventory, Nantwich, in 1727, as having belonged to the poet: they are mounted on stands made of oak from Milton's house in the Barbican: the translation into Italian verse of *Paradise Lost*, by Guido Socelli, ed. 2, London, 1827. Mr Shipley's collection of engraved portraits on copper has been placed on loan in the College Library.

From the Rev. W. G. Searle a bronze medal of Milton after the marble monument by Rysbrach in Westminster Abbey.

From the Registrary, Mr J. W. Clark, a copy of Bentley's edition of *Paradise Lost*, with the poet Cowper's autograph and notes by W. Hayley.

From Mr F. H. Cripps Day a beautifully bound copy of Milton's letter to Mr Hartlibb (Tract on Education), London, 1644.

From Mrs Skeat an engraving after Romney's picture of Milton and his daughters.

From Mr Charles Sayle a water-colour drawing of the enchantment scene in the recent performance of *Comus*.

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Mr Sayle, who assisted in the Exhibition of Books at the Milton Celebration has been presented by the College with a handsome silver bowl. The inscription runs as follows:

IOANNEM MILTONUM ALUMNUM MAXIME ILLUSTREM
ANNO MDCVIII NATUM COMMEMORANTES
COLLEGII CHRISTI INTER CANTABRIGIENSES MAGISTER ET SOCII
CAROLO SAYLE ARTIUM MAGISTRO
STUDII SUI AEMULO ET FAUTORI
HUNC CRATERA
GRATO ANIMO DEDERUNT
MCMVIII

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S. W. Grose has received a handsomely bound copy of the Pitt Press Edition of *Comus and other Poems.*

JOANNEM MILTONUM POETAM MAXIME INSIGNEM
ANNO MDCVIII NATUM CELEBRANTES
COLLEGII CHRISTI CANTABRIGIENSIS MAGISTER ET SOCII
DOMINO SIDNEY GUILLELMO GROSE DISCIPULO SCHOLARI
SEDULO IN LABORIBUS ADIUTORI
HUNC LIBRUM DEDERUNT
MCMVIII

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The Annual Dinner of the College Club was held this year at Cambridge, and took place in the College Hall on June 23rd. The gathering was a very pleasant one, and over ninety members of the College were present. The Master presided and proposed the health of the King: Professor Reid gave the toast of the club, which was responded to by Rev. J. C. Wilton: Mr E. B. Lindsell proposed the toast of the College and the Master replied. Most of those who came to the dinner occupied their old rooms in College for the night.

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Mr W. W. Walker, M.A. (B.A. 1872), has been re-appointed Examiner for Part I of the Classical Tripos, 1909, and Mr Campbell has been appointed Examiner for Part I in 1909 also.

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Mr Shipley has been appointed Examiner in Elementary Biology for the year ending 1 November, 1909.

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The President of Queens' College has been appointed Examiner in Physics for the year ending 1 November, 1909, for the 1st M.B. Examination.

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The Master has been appointed a Member of the Board of Electors for the Charles Oldham Classical Scholarship from 1909—1912.

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Mr McLean and Mr I. Abrahams have been appointed to examine for the Oriental Languages Tripos, 1909.

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Educational Appointments:—Dr G. A. Auden, M.D. (B.A. 1893), to be Medical Officer to the Birmingham Education Committee; C. H. B. Epps, M.A. (B.A. 1902), to be County Science Master under the Staffordshire County Council; G. Howells (B.A. 1906), to be Principal of Serampur College, Bengal Presidency; Dr C. A. Barber, Sc.D. (B.A. 1888), who has returned to India, to be Head of the Agricultural College, Coimbatore, S. India; G. H. Drew (B.A. 1903), to be Lecturer in Biology at the Plymouth Technical School; E. W. Nelson (1902) is continuing his work on the Growth of Plankton Diatoms at the same laboratory; S. G. Squire, M.A. (B.A. 1901), to be Assistant Master at Oundle School; G. A. Purton, M.A. (B.A. 1898), to be Assistant Master at King's School, Canterbury; J. H. Scott (B.A. 1908), to be Assistant Master at King Alfred's School, Wantage; W. B. Brierley (B.A. 1908) has received an educational appointment in Cheshire; N. L. Ingle (B.A. 1907), to be Classical Lecturer at the Victoria University, Manchester; Rev. E. I. Robson, M.A. (B.A. 1895), to be Sixth Form Master at Felsted School.

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Legal:—W. E. Thrash (B.A. 1906) has been called to the Bar and has returned to Pietermaritzburg; L. Mager (B.A. 1905) has passed the Final Examination of the Law Society.

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The Rt. Rev. Philip Kendall Fyson, D.D., Bishop of Hokaido, Japan, and formerly a Scholar of the College, has been nominated by the College to the Rectory of Elmley Lovett, Worcester, which has been resigned by the Rev. William Leeming, M.A.

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Preferments and Appointments:—Rev. J. G. Addenbrooke, M.A. (B.A. 1880), to be Vicar of St Wenn, Bodmin; Rev. G. E. Alvis, M.A. (B.A. 1889), to be Parochial Minister of the Parish of Ripon; Rev. F. H. Bartlam (B.A. 1906), to be Vicar of St Mary's Parish Church, Walthamstow; Rev. B. M. C. S. Browne, M.A. (B.A. 1893), to be Rector of Sedlescombe, Sussex; Rev. F. W. Burbidge, M.A. (B.A. 1895), to be Curate of Flixborough, Doncaster; Rev. A. F. Curtis, M.A. (B.A. 1871), to be Rector of Babworth, Retford; Rev. H. P. Dawson (B.A. 1885), to be Chaplain to the *Shannon*; Rev. J. B. Denchfield, M.A. (B.A. 1886), to be Vicar of St Luke's, Grange Road, Bermondsey; Rev. W. T. Dickinson, M.A. (B.A. 1892), to be Curate

of All Saints, Knightsbridge; Rev. C. F. Doddrell, M.A. (B.A. 1899), to be Rector of Welsh Bicknor, Ross; Rev. J. L. Dove, M.A. (B.A. 1880), to be Head Master of Whanganui School, N.Z.; Rt. Rev. Bishop Fyson, D.D. (B.A. 1870), to be Rector of Elmley Lovett, Worcester; Rev. W. R. Gardner, M.A. (B.A. 1886), to be Vicar of Horninglow, Burton-on-Trent; Rev. J. J. Gay (B.A. 1894), to be Chaplain to the *Impregnable*; Rev. W. Greening, M.A. (B.A. 1904), to be Curate at Dover; Rev. W. H. M. Handcock (B.A. 1897), to be Rector of Welbourn, Lincoln; Canon R. Irving, M.A. (B.A. 1864), to be Rural Dean of Toxteth; Rev. P. L. Leakey, M.A. (B.A. 1897), to the Curacy of Geasley, Nottingham; Rev. W. J. R. H. Oliver, M.A. (B.A. 1869), to be Vicar of North Baddesley, Romsey; Rev. C. W. Peck, M.A. (B.A. 1888), to be Priest-in-Charge of Pesisko Mission, Alberta; Rev. A. P. Rees (B.A. 1888), to be Curate at Doncaster; Rev. C. F. Roberts, M.A. (B.A. 1884), to be Cursal Canon of St Asaph's Cathedral; Rev. A. G. Robinson, M.A. (B.A. 1885), to be Archdeacon of Surrey and Canon of Winchester; Rev. S. B. Taylor, M.A. (B.A. 1867), to be Curate of Faccombe, Andover; Rev. G. C. Wilton, M.A. (B.A. 1889), to be Rector of St Dunstan, Stepney, and Rural Dean of Stepney; Rev. A. C. Cooper (B.A. 1904) has sailed for Korea, where he is taking up missionary work; Rev. P. R. Bartley, M.A. (B.A. 1896), to be Vicar of Albrighton, Wolverhampton.

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Ordinations:—A. F. Bradley (B.A. 1907), and licensed to Curacy of St Paul's, Portman Square; L. C. Blower (B.A. 1907), and licensed to Curacy at Sedgefield; L. J. Jackson (B.A. 1906), and licensed to Curacy at Crewkerne; A. H. Jones (B.A. 1907), and licensed to Curacy of St Chad's, Bensham; C. H. Maxwell (B.A. 1907), and licensed to Curacy of St James, Ashted; A. W. Orr (B.A. 1907), and licensed to Curacy of St Barnabas, Hull; N. H. Parcell (B.A. 1907), and licensed to Curacy at Prendergast; E. B. Redlich, M.A. (B.A. 1899), and licensed to Curacy at Boston; T. N. Wild (B.A. 1906), and licensed to Curacy of All Hallows, East India Docks.

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Medical Degrees and Appointments:—W. W. Holtzmann (B.A. 1899) has been admitted F.R.C.S.; H. T. H. Butt (B.A. 1905), A. H. Crook (B.A. 1905), F. S. Eschwege (B.A. 1904), S. Wood

(B.A. 1904) have been admitted M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P.; H. T. H. Butt was awarded the Wix Prize, 1907–8, at St Bartholomew's Hospital; W. G. Richards (B.A. 1890) has been gazetted Major in the I.M.S.

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The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries have issued the interim report of Captain Walter S. Masterman on the "Research Work of the Board in relation to the Plaice Fisheries of the North Sea." The next volume is being prepared by A. T. Masterman.

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Boys' Home:—George Mitchell, who is apprenticed to a mechanical dentist, has won a London County Council Exhibition for Arts in the branch of jewellery, silversmiths' work and enamelling.

W. Littlewood obtained 1st class honours in the Board of Education S. Kensington Examination for mechanical construction and drawing.

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Marriages:—

C. F. G. Masterman, M.A., M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Local Government Board, (B.A. 1895), late Fellow of the College, on 2 June, in King Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, to Lucy, eldest daughter of Gen. the Hon. Neville Lyttelton, K.C.B.

H. L. Jackson, B.D. (B.A. 1882), on 23 June, at the Parish Church, Folkestone, to Caroline Harriot Leili, only child of the late Walter Watson, Esq., of Guildford.

W. P. Low, M.A. (B.A. 1898), on July 1, at All Saints' Church, Crowborough, to Ellen Mary, youngest daughter of the late John Cobham, Esq., of Waterloo, Lancashire, and Mrs Cobham, of Ashworth, Crowborough.

J. T. Tanfield, M.A. (B.A. 1899), on July 1, at the Parish Church, Spalding, to Dorothy Ermyntrude, elder daughter of Mr and Mrs Stanley Maples, of The Sycamores, Spalding.

R. P. Lobb (B.A. 1895), on 21 July, at St John's, Westminster, to Mary Beatrice, youngest daughter of Mr and Mrs G. F. Jackson, of Tunbridge Wells.

W. M. Gordon, M.A. (B.A. 1899), on 5 August, at All Saints' Church, Blackrock, to Evelyn Maud, youngest daughter of Oliver Fry, Esq., of Altadore, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

G. S. Robins (B.A. 1902), on 22 Sept., at the Cathedral, Rochester, to Violet Edith Streatfield, only daughter of the late Ernest Woodgate, Esq., J.P., and Mrs Woodgate, of Star Hill, Rochester.

Alan Clover, M.A. (B.A. 1895), on 9 Sept., at St George's, Brandon Hill, Bristol, to Margaret Hilton, daughter of W. A. Smith, Esq., M.B., of Bristol.

J. F. Downes, M.A. (B.A. 1879), on 12 November, at St Peter's, Cranley Gardens, to Miss Elizabeth Joan Hayes.

* * * * * *

Degrees:—

M.A. Honoris Causa.

K. J. J. Mackenzie, Lecturer in Agriculture.

M.D.

A. H. Fardon. H. J. Fardon.

M.A.

B. P. Cowley. T. H. Florence.
Evan Jones. W. P. Low.
A. P. Rees. H. H. Williams.

M.B. B.C.

W. I. Cumberlidge. E. G. Wheat.

B.A.

Mathematical Tripos. Pt. I.

H. Minson, 3rd Wrangler.
L. V. King, 24th Wrangler.
W. Rabjohns, Senior Optime.
A. S. D. Young, Junior Optime.
E. S. Gandy, Junior Optime.

Classical Tripos. Pt. I.

G. T. Hales, Class I. Div. 1.
S. L. Caiger, Class I. Div. 2.
S. W. Grose, Class I. Div. 2.
E. A. Woodard, Class I. Div. 3.
W. B. Brierley, Class III. Div. 1.
L. T. S. Barrett, Class III. Div. 3.
E. J. Tipping—aegrotat.

B.A.

Moral Sciences. Pt. I.

P. K. Chakrabarti, Class I.
W. H. J. Platts, Class II. Div. 2.

Natural Sciences. Pt. I.

J. W. Pigeon, J. Romanes — Class I.
K. H. Barnard, J. B. Hance, A. A. Rust, H. H. Wallis, C. R. Wright — Class II.
T. E. Banister, E. M. Grace, J. H. Scott — Class III.

Theological Tripos. Pt. I.

J. W. H. Joyce, Class II.

Law Tripos. Pt. II.

H. Hosken, Class III.

Historical Tripos. Pt. II.

H. Dippie, N. B. Kent, W. H. Pyman, R. Whitwell — Class II.

Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos.

F. Reid, Class II.

Mechanical Sciences Tripos.

G. G. Nelson, Class II.

Pass degrees:—

L. E. Burgess, Theological Special, Class III.
H. Chapman, Mechanical Special, Class I.
C. A. Frith, First Examination for Mus.B.
S. U. Mahli, Law Special, Class III.
H. E. G. Paget, History Special, Class II.
A. Shiach, Modern Language Special, Class II.
C. T. te Water, Ordinary Degree on Law Tripos.
S. M. Wheeler, Theological Special, Class III.

The following also were classed in the Triposes:

Classical Tripos. Pt. II.
N. L. Ingle, B.A., Class I. with distinction.

Natural Sciences. Pt. II.
P. Rigby, B.A., Class III.

Law Tripos. Pt. II.
W. J. Bonser, B.A., Class II,

Historical Tripos. Pt. II.
G. L. Ham, B.A., Class II.

Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos.
W. H. Humphreys, Class I.

Mathematical Tripos. Pt. I. New Regulations.
T. Cope, F. Rönnfeldt } Class I.
J. Brennan, M. Lal } Class II.
H. P. Nightingale, Class III.

Natural Sciences. Pt. I.
G. A. Ewart, A. E. C. Smith } Class I.
P. J. Fay, Class II.

Law Tripos. Pt. I.
D. Ramsay, Class III.

Historical Tripos. Pt. I.
A. D. Ager, A. J. Gardiner } Class II.
A. C. Hall, Class III.

* * * * * *

The following is the list of those who have entered the College this term:—

Advanced Students:
H. B. Fantham
B. A. Flannery

Second Year:
E. C. Woolley

First Year:

H. H. Abdoolcader
H. E. Adshead
G. H. C. Angus
J. Ashworth
J. A. H. Bell
J. J. O. Beven
B. B. Binks
E. W. Bliss
S. G. Buszard
F. C. A. Cleeve
V. Clough
C. B. Coxwell
W. Dennes
W. Dhar
W. N. Edwards
E. G. A. Gardener
R. M. Gibson
A. J. N. Green
J. H. Herring
L. S. Holmwood
R. P. Huggonson
Ko Ko
D. D. Lahusen
F. H. Lewis
H. J. Lewis
G. Li
W. H. Livens
R. N. Liptrot
L. McLintock
J. T. M. Mee
S. M. Mir
O. J. W. Napier
A. F. Nimr
L. P. Phillips
W. M. Ransford
T. J. Rees
D. Richardson-Kuhlmann
A. H. Saunders
W. H. Shephard
J. B. Stapler
E. T. Thurston
M. Todd
A. J. Varain
T. T. B. Watson
O. S. Whaley
R. B. Whitehead
J. J. F. Wolffson
A. Wrigley
F. E. Young

OFFICERS OF COLLEGE CLUBS, Etc.

Boat Club. President, Rev. J. W. Cartmell; 1st Boat Captain, C. H. Bristow; 2nd Boat Captain, A. J. Gardiner; 3rd Boat Captain, D. F. Buckley; Hon. Sec., A. J. G. Simpson; additional members of the Committee, E. W. Blyth and S. J. Wilkinson.

Rugby Football. President, J. Greaves, Esq.; Captain, R. S. Kennedy; Hon. Sec., J. Ll. Rogers; Committee, C. A. Rose, A. E. Beecroft.

Association Football. President, J. Greaves, Esq.; Captain, R. Snowdon-Smith; Hon. Sec., L. J. Reid; Committee, H. Minson, G. M. Bottome, A. M. Zamora.

Cricket. President, N. M'Lean, Esq.; Captain, D. J. Glenister; Hon. Sec., M. W. Peters.

Hockey. President, Rev. A. W. Valentine-Richards; Captain, G. M. Bottome; Hon. Sec., S. Davenport; Committee, C. H. Harper, W. A. Martin.

Athletics. President, G. A. Ewart; Hon. Sec., A. C. L. O'S. Bilderbeck.

Lawn Tennis. President, N. M'Lean, Esq.; Captain, E. S. Gandy; Hon. Sec., E. S. Langerman; Committee, A. E. Beecroft, A. M. Zamora.

Finance Committee. President, A. E. Shipley, Esq.; Treasurer, Rev. J. W. Cartmell; Hon. Sec., D. F. Buckley, assisted by H. D. Liley; Committee, all Secretaries named above.

Musical Society. President, H. Rackham, Esq.; Vice-President, A. J. G. Simpson; Conductor, J. F. Chubb; Hon. Sec., G. A. Collins; Committee, J. B. Trend, M. W. Peters.

Debating Society. President, G. R. Harding Wood; Vice-President, L. J. Reid; Hon. Sec., F. Rönnfeldt; Committee, R. Snowdon-Smith, E. L. Turnbull.

Historical Society. President, C. R. Fay, Esq.; Vice-President, A. D. Ager; Hon. Sec., C. M. Sing.

Ridout Society. President, N. M'Lean, Esq.; Vice-President, S. M. Wheeler; Hon. Sec., E. W. Blyth; Committee, R. Snowdon-Smith.

Science Club. President, Prof. G. H. F. Nuttall, F.R.S.; Vice-Presidents, R. H. Rastall, Esq., C. M. Sleeman, J. Romanes; Hon. Sec., J. B. Trend.

Magazine. President, H. Rackham, Esq.; Manager, S. L. Caiger; Editor, J. B. Trend; Sub-Editor, L. J. Reid.

BOAT CLUB.

Report for May Term, 1908.

THE Committee have to submit the report of a very unsuccessful term's work. The 1st May Boat, after promising well early in the term, did not improve as much as was hoped, and in the end went down every night.

The names and weights of the crew were as follows:—

		st.	*lbs.*
Bow.	A. J. G. Simpson	11	3
2.	R. R. Evison	11	6
3.	E. W. Blyth	11	9
4.	A. J. Gardiner	13	0
5.	L. T. S. Barrett	13	2
6.	C. T. te Water	11	7
7.	C. H. Bristow	11	5
Stroke.	D. F. Buckley	10	6
Cox.	T. R. Fawsitt	8	6

The thanks of the Club are due to Mr R. C. Rayner, who kindly coached throughout the term, and to the President of the C.U.B.C., by whom the boat was taken out on two occasions. Mr F. S. Lowe further increased our indebtedness to him by coming up from Berkshire to coach the crew every day during the last week.

The report of the racing does not make pleasant reading, for the boat was caught every night with monotonous regularity.

It is only fair to the crew, however, to state that the new centre-seated boat was not a great success. Owing to her build she would not take the corners without a great deal of rudder, which not only took the pace off her, but tended to make the crew unsteady.

The 2nd Boat, with Mr R. R. Evison as coach, went up one place, and down two.

Names and weights:—

		st.	*lbs.*
Bow.	G. B. G. Simpson	9	0
2.	R. C. Pearson	10	4
3.	D. Haseler	11	2
4.	F. E. Francillon	12	0
5.	S. J. Wilkinson	11	8
6.	J. W. Pigeon	10	1
7.	A. D. Ager	9	11
Stroke.	T. C. Wyatt	11	2
Cox.	C. T. Groves	8	11

On the first night, in spite of a bad start, they rapidly overhauled Emmanuel II, and ran into them at First Post. On the next night they rowed over behind St Catharine's; and on the third and last nights they were caught by First Trinity 3 and Jesus 3 respectively.

CRICKET CLUB.

Report for May Term, 1908.

We cannot look back on our last cricket season with much satisfaction. Out of fourteen matches played we only won two (those against Trinity Hall and Oundle), and of the rest we managed to draw five. It is true that our strongest side was rarely able to be put into the field; but our defeats are chiefly to be attributed to the weakness which was displayed in every department of the game. The batting, which lacked confidence, was inconsistent and seldom aggressive, and the attack was without any real sting. The fielding, too, of which we had our full share, was with one or two notable exceptions lifeless and unsafe. The side improved as the season advanced, but was as a rule dismissed far too cheaply. We can only hope that next season much bigger scores will be placed to our credit; but even so matches will not be won unless catches are held.

It was unfortunate that our captain was only occasionally able to play, and that D. J. Glenister, who played several good innings, was prevented from taking part in most of the matches. L. J. Reid is certainly the prettiest bat on the side, and we hope for still better things from him next year. He can bowl a useful slow ball especially on sticky wickets, and is an excellent example of keenness in the field. A. Clifford Hall played some stylish innings, and J. W. Shilcock, who kept wicket with considerable success, can also make runs. R. Snowdon-Smith and M. W. Peters shared most of the bowling; the former bowls a useful fast ball, but often seems unable to control his length. R. S. Kennedy and C. H. Crawshaw were useful when they were available. Of the rest, T. C. Parker, S. Davenport, and P. R. Owen played frequently, and at times did good things, but the last two are very shaky in the field.

MUSICAL SOCIETY.

The May Week concert was held in the College Hall (by kind permission of the Master and Fellows) on Saturday, June 13th. As we look back on the performance, our most pleasant recollections seem to gather round J. F. Chubb's rendering of Chopin's great *Polonaise* in A flat, N. B. Kent's song "Hame," and the efforts of the quartet. The departure of three members of the quartet will be a great loss to the music of the College, for they have delighted us for three years, and never failed to give pleasure to their listeners. We shall miss also R. L. Eber, who was certainly one of the best violinists in the University. It was a pity however that on this occasion he did not contribute something more to the taste of his audience; the *Andante con variazione* from the Kreutzer Sonata is a divinely inspired conception, but should not be separated from the rest of the work. The chorus of the C.C.M.S., ably conducted by J. F. Chubb, and accompanied on the piano by E. P. Haines and R. R. Broome, gave a fair rendering of Brahms' first set of *Liebeslieder Walzer*. No one will deny that this is brave music, but it seemed to be somewhat above the executive powers of the chorus. Had they confined themselves to a small number of the waltzes, they would doubtless have delighted an audience, the majority of whom were after this item distinctly bored. S. M. Wheeler was quite at home in the "Just so" song "Merrow Down," and L. T. S. Barrett gave a spirited rendering of "Two Shakespeare songs" by Roger Quilter. "O mistress mine" was charming; but oh, how we longed for another setting of "Blow, blow thou winter wind"—that of Stevens. Had weather permitted during the interval, Hadyn's "Variations on the Austrian Hymn" were to have been played in the first court by a string quartet. The night however was damp, and this project had to be abandoned. In conclusion we should like to congratulate the officers of the Society on a very successful concert. It must be pointed out however that the programme was far too long, and the seating arrangements in Hall left something to be desired. The chorus too were scarcely equal to their task; they should not endeavour to fly too high.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor regrets that the mass of correspondence which has reached him for this number is unavoidably held over.

Articles (not too long) for insertion in the next number should be sent not later than Feb. 1st, 1909; but more especially would we beseech the Secretaries of the various College Clubs to forward their reports for the Michaelmas Term without delay.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A. AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

CONTRIBUTIONS for the Magazine from old members of the College, as well as from those now in residence, will be always gladly received by the Editor; those for the next number are due on Feb. 1st, 1909.

Any news of interest concerning past and present members of the College not now in residence will be welcomed by the Editor.

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